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Voice of Romany and Interaction for the Care System in Sweden

Vandetta Mariana

Abstract *Thousands of EU migrants without a home and in poverty, mostly of Roma origin, live in desperate and dangerous situations throughout Sweden while the country's authorities deliberately deny them access to the most basic services. This is the conclusion of a new report by Amnesty International. Sweden: A cold welcome: Human rights of Rome and other "vulnerable EU citizens" at risk concludes that marginalized migrants in the EU face insurmountable obstacles to access to shelter, sanitation and health services, in a situation that violates their rights. Human rights, rights that Sweden has an obligation to make real for all people living in the country. The authorities are in fact abandoning to their fate people who have exercised their right to freedom of movement within the EU in search of a better life.*

Keywords: *ethnicity, collective, identities, processes, of subjectivities, positive ethnicity, Studies on ethnicity*

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Thousands of Roma face a constant struggle in Sweden for food, sanitation and medical care. In winter, when temperatures collapse, this becomes a struggle for survival. "Sleeping in tents, cars or temporary settlements on the outskirts of cities, thousands of Roma face a constant struggle in Sweden for food, sanitation and medi-

cal care. In winter, when temperatures collapse, this becomes a struggle for survival," said Fotis Filippou, Amnesty International's deputy director for Europe.

"Harassment, discriminatory treatment by the police and the fact that the Swedish authorities do not recognize the rights of these EU migrants or address their basic needs reflect prejudice, discrimination and racism against the Roma population. They persist throughout Europe. "

The report is based on 58 interviews with migrants from the EU, all of them from Romania and the majority of Roma, as well as interviews with numerous civil society organizations and public officials from all over the country. Its main conclusion is that the inadequacy of the legal and political frameworks means that many people in this group slip through the cracks of the system, with serious consequences for their health and for their lives. In several localities they lack access to shelter, water, and sanitation and health services. The lack of access to shelter aggravates other problems, such as the fact that, having no permanent address, their ability to find a job is severely limited, and forces many people to resort to begging.

The authorities estimate that in Sweden there are some 4,700 people classified as "vulnerable EU citizens", although the figure is uncertain. Many of these people, though not all, are Roma. The Swedish government's approach to homeless EU migrants has been that these people must leave the country after three months, that even during this period they have very limited access to social support, and only their country of origin can be held responsible for human rights violations that suffer despite the abuses taking place in Swedish territory.

According to both Swedish and EU legislation, EU citizens can stay in Sweden for three months without any condition other than showing a valid identity document. The research carried out by Amnesty International has shown that, in their search for a better life, many "vulnerable EU citizens" stay much longer, visiting their country of origin occasionally or without visiting it.

Harassment, discriminatory treatment by the police and the fact that the Swedish authorities do not recognize the rights of these EU migrants or address their basic needs reflect prejudices, discrimination and racism against the Roma that persist in all Europe.

Some homeless EU migrants described to Amnesty International how they lived without water, sanitation and electricity in cabins in the forests, or slept under bridges despite freezing temperatures. A man in the north of Sweden spent the nights in the bus station until it closed at two in the morning, and then wandered through the city to subzero temperatures to avoid freezing.

Roma EU is as a migrant in Stockholm also suffers disproportionately harsh treatment by police. Several women interviewed in the city described how they had repeatedly left the place where they were begging, or had even taken them by force

to random locations outside the city, where they had left them. Stockholm police confirmed this practice, and argued that women disturbed the public order, although there was no evidence they had that kind of behavior and that begging is not prohibited or require a license.

Although many EU migrants without a home are denied their basic human rights, this does not happen throughout the country. In some municipalities, simple local policy changes have been introduced that make a real difference in terms of protecting the rights of EU migrants without a home, and allow them to live with dignity. In Lund and Gotland there are hostels open all year round where people can stay longer. Having a stable place to sleep is a huge relief for people in need, which provides a security and stability that allows them to plan for the future - for example, find work - and have a positive impact on the community in general.

The Swedish authorities must fulfill their legal obligations to ensure that all EU migrants living in poverty have access to shelter, water, sanitation services and subsidized health care.

"There are people who have been forced to live in terrible conditions for years, with the official but erroneous justification that these people are here temporarily and that the State has no obligations to it. However, there is another more humane and hospitable approach," said Johanna Westeson, legal counsel for Amnesty International Sweden.

"The Swedish authorities must redouble their efforts to end discrimination against the Roma and must fulfill their legal obligations to ensure that all EU migrants living in poverty have access to shelter, water, and sanitation and hygiene services. Subsidized medical care. "

Additional information

Sweden has ratified various human rights treaties that guarantee civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights to all people in its territory, without discrimination; These treaties include the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, both of the UN, and the European Convention on Human Rights.

Throughout the last century, Sweden sterilized, persecuted, snatched children and banned people from entering the country gypsies ; and the people of that ethnic minority were treated by the State for decades as "socially incapacitated". These ads have not been made by a militant NGO. It is the story of the Swedish Conservative Government, which in an unprecedented gesture in Europe, both for its intellectual honesty and for the breadth of respect for the truth, has decided to look back and dig into its darker files.

The idea is to settle accounts with the past to try to improve the present: "The situation that gypsies live today has to do with the historical discrimination they have been subjected to," says the so-called White Paper, which was presented this week in Stockholm, and in which are detailed the abuses committed with the gypsies from 1900.

The center-right coalition monitors the rise of the extreme right

The Minister of Integration, Erik Ullenhag, has defined those decades of impunity and state racism as "a dark and shameful period of Swedish history". His words have coincided with an episode that illustrates the current situation: on Wednesday, one of the gypsy women invited to give their testimony saw how the Sheraton hotel staff forbade her entry to breakfast.

Historical abuses, says the White Paper, followed a pattern invented centuries ago by monarchies European: began with the censuses that developed official bodies such as the Institute for Racial Biology or the Commission for Health and Welfare, which identified the gypsies who lived in the country. The first official documents described the gypsies as "undesirable groups for society" and as "a burden". Between 1934 and 1974, the State prescribed to Gypsy women the sterilization appealing to the "interest of the population policies", as it did Australia with the aborigines. There are no figures of victims, but in the Ministry of Integration they explain that one out of every four families consulted knows of a case of forced abortions and sterilization. The official organizations took custody of gypsy children who uprooted their families. The study also does not offer data on this custom, but Sophia Metelius, political advisor of the ministry, explains that it was "a systematic practice", especially in winter.

Stockholm admits that it banned Gypsies from entering Sweden until 1964, even though the fate of the minority under the expansion was known Nazi : experts estimate that at least 600,000 Roma and Sinti were exterminated in the Porrajmos, Devouring in calé, at the hands of the regime Hitlerian and other related.

The White Paper details the Swedish town councils that banned permanent settlement for Roma, and recalls that children were segregated in special classrooms and that they were prevented from accessing social services. "The idea was to make life impossible for them to leave the country," Metelius sums up.

Some of these practices still occur in various European countries, and gyno-phobia rides hard in France, Britain and Germany. In 2013, Paris evicted more than 20,000 gypsies from their slums. Berlin plans a law to prevent the Romanian and Bulgarian migrants - the majority, Roma - without work from staying more than six months in the country.

Next week, the European Union It will hold a special summit to evaluate the progress of the integration policies of the Roma minority. The overall picture is bleak, with peaks of racial hatred in Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic.

In Sweden, a country of some nine and a half million inhabitants, today more than 50,000 Roma live. At the moment, the authorities do not contemplate compensating the relatives of the victims of abuses, although the White Paper opens the door to the demands. The government has established the historical truth by crossing personal interviews with dozens of gypsies and official archives. "They are not new revelations. The gypsies have been telling us these stories for years, but they were ignored. Now, simply, we have compiled the official documents and we have crossed them with testimonies," says Sophia Metelius.

The center-right coalition monitors the sharp rise in the polls of the extreme right (10% of the vote), and has been proposed to combat xenophobic messages with a firm defense of the Swedish progressive tradition.

The massive acceptance of refugees Syrians is one of the policies with which liberals and conservatives want to demonstrate that populist catastrophism should not inevitably become a self-fulfilling prophecy. The recognition of the savages committed with the gypsies walks in that same direction. The irony is that the civilized and tolerant north was not so. Hope that this unusual exercise cunda memory and respect.

Translators are mediators between cultural systems, as well as mediators between languages. The translators of legal texts are, therefore, also mediators between legal systems. The translations of legal texts presents specific challenges since it is, if not essential, at least useful to know both the legal system of the source language as the system of the target language. It is also essential to understand the legal reasoning of the text. We are talking about a complex process since the translator of legal texts must know the cultural and social peculiarities of each legal system. A legal translation should be as faithful as possible to the content and style of the source text, but at the same time it must be clearly understandable to the final reader. Sweden is, with its language, culture and legal system, very different from Spain. Reviewing some of the Swedish features I will try to make this Scandinavian country a little more known.

At first sight, Swedish, the mother tongue of approximately 9 million people, can be considered a very minority language. It is true that, compared to Spanish - the second most spoken language in the world, with more than 400 million Spanish speakers-, Swedish is a language spoken by very few. However, thanks to the Scandinavian linguistic community, the position of the Swedish language is strengthened since the Scandinavians can understand each other. Swedish, Danish and Norwegian are languages spoken by some 20 million people.

Although Swedish is the main language or national language of Sweden, Swedish law only considers it the official language in its international relations. Swedish is also the official language of the Finnish autonomous region of the Åland Islands and the second official language of Finland.

The Swedish language law of 2009 states that Swedish is the "main language" of Sweden, but also includes five minority protected languages: Finnish, Sami, Meänkieli, Roma and Yiddish. Finnish is spoken in Sweden for about 210 000 people, the meänkieli, a Finnish dialect, for about 40 000. Sami, which is the language spoken in Lapland, a region that stretches across northern Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola peninsula, northwest of Russia, has about 20 000 speakers. These first three languages are specially protected through the Swedish law of national minorities and minority languages, which provides rights and obligations similar to those in Spain in relation to co-official languages, such as the right to use these languages in the communication between citizens and public authorities.

The Roma is spoken by about 40 000 Roma. The Yiddish, although only about 4000 Swedes speak it -Basically in the family and religious-, it has also been included as a protected minority language since, like other languages, it is considered to belong to the Swedish cultural heritage.

Some notes on the development of the Swedish language

The Swedish form, along with Danish, Norwegian, Icelandic and Faroese (a language spoken by some 48 000 people in the Faroe Islands and for about 12 000 in Denmark), a subset of the Germanic languages, within the family of Indo-European languages. Swedish, together with these other languages, derives from Old Norse (also called Old Icelandic or Old Norwegian). Since the year 800, during the time of the Vikings, Swedish can be distinguished as a language of its own, based on a runic script and half a century later began to use the Roman alphabet.

The influence of other languages in Swedish has always been great. Through Christianity adopted many words from Latin, which was the religious language until the Reformation in 1524. During the Middle Ages, thanks to the influence of German merchants of the Hanseatic League, the German also left a significant linguistic imprint in Sweden. In turn, during the seventeenth century, the immigration of Dutch, Walloons and Scots brought new elements to the Swedish language. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, French was the language of fashion and also left an important trace in the Swedish language, partly because a Napoleon's marshal, Jean Bernadotte, was elected king of Sweden and Norway, calling himself Carlos. XIV Juan. Beyond foreign influences, one of the important developments in Swedish development was the codification of Swedish laws into a unique code of laws: *Svea rikes lag* of 1734, which defined the rules of legal language.

Multilingualism in Sweden

Due to the phenomenon of immigration, especially since the first post-war years, when the composition of the Swedish population changed radically, Sweden went from being a country of emigrants to being a country of immigrants. In fact, immigration constituted almost 45 % of the total population increase between 1944 and 1980. Thus, in just a few decades, Sweden became a multilingual community with several ethnic minorities. During World War II, the majority of immigrants were Jews and other refugees from Denmark and Norway fleeing from Nazism. In these cases, as in the case of tens of thousands of Finnish children who were taken into Swedish homes during the war, it was usually a more or less brief stay. Different was the case of the Baltics, especially Estonians, who in the final stage of the war fled to Sweden in the face of the Soviet threat, establishing themselves and integrating into Swedish society.

Since the 1980s, immigration in Sweden has been mainly due to the arrival of refugees from the Middle East and Latin America, and later from the Balkans. Currently, the 16th % of the inhabitants of Sweden come from abroad and have a mother tongue other than Swedish. Among the most spoken languages are Arabic (153 000), the Serbo-Croatian (122 000), the Kurdish (83 600) and Spanish (75 200).

Precisely because of the minority nature of the Swedish world and the importance of international and commercial relations in Sweden, the Swedish education system has privileged the teaching of foreign languages. At the beginning of the 19th century, the teaching of German and French was introduced into schools, apart from the compulsory study of Latin, which occupied a very important place until the middle of the 20th century. At the end of the 19th century, English became compulsory for high school students who studied mathematics and natural sciences and, after the Second World War, was introduced as the first compulsory foreign language since elementary school.

Today, besides English, it is studied at least a second foreign language, the most popular German, Spanish and French. It is estimated that 85 today % of Swedes write and speak English. Besides the fact of studying it in school, in Sweden, dubbing is hardly used, which is reserved mainly for children. The subtitles were imposed in Sweden primarily for economic reasons -Doing costs ten or fifteen times plus- but, also, because it has not been considered necessary to promote the Swedish language in this way. Thus, nowadays, in the same way that the Spanish public is reluctant to have to read subtitles, the Swedish public finds it strange to watch television series or dubbed movies.

2. The Swedish legal system: A brief comparative overview

Broadly speaking, it could be said that the main differences between the Swedish and Spanish legal systems are in the fundamental laws, the territorial organization and the sources of the legal order, although there is a difference that is more interesting for a translator: the style of communication, the language used in laws and official documents. According to the aforementioned Swedish law of the language, it is the obligation of the institutions to draft all their documents in a simple, correct and concise language, which allows everyone to understand it. Let's see first what are the main differences in the legal systems.

General characteristics of Swedish law

Swedish law is based mainly on the Germanic, although in many fields there is a clear influence of Roman law -even though not as much as in the right Spanish, while in others the influence of the Anglo-American system stands out. However, Swedish law retains a major difference with this, since the Swedish legal system relies heavily on legislation, while the precedent and judicial practice play a minor role. It could be said that the Swedish legal system is a middle ground between continental European law and the Anglo-American legal tradition of *common law*.

The main sources of Swedish law are legislation (laws, decrees and administrative provisions), legislative preparatory work and jurisprudence, with legislation being the primary source. The importance of preparatory work as a source of interpretation of the law is a special feature of Swedish law. However, as a law is consolidating, jurisprudence becomes more important as a source of interpretation.

Another significant feature of Swedish legislation is legislative cooperation with the other Nordic countries since the late nineteenth century, which has created a high degree of legal harmonization between the Scandinavian countries, especially in the field of civil law. Sweden joined the European Union in 1995 and since then, of course, Community legislation is part of the Swedish legal system.

The fundamental laws and the political system in Sweden

Until 1974, the main source of constitutional law was the Instrument of Government of 1809. The current Swedish Constitution is composed of four fundamental laws (*Grundlagar*): the Instrument of Government of 1974 (*Regeringsformen*), which contains the fundamental rules on the form of State, as well as a special chapter on the rights and fundamental freedoms of the individual; the law of succession of 1810 (*Successionsordningen*), in which the hereditary order to the throne is regulated; the Press Freedom Act (*Tryckfrihetsförordningen*) of 1949, which guarantees freedom of the press in the printed media and the right of access to public documents; and the fundamental law of freedom of expression (*Yttrandefrihet-*

sgrundlagen) of 1991, which complements the law of freedom of the press by extending and adapting the protection of this right to television, radio, internet, etc. The law of the Parliament (*Riksdagsordningen*) of 1974, which regulates its operation, could also be considered part of Swedish constitutional law.

Sweden is a constitutional monarchy, based on the principle of popular sovereignty, parliamentary and local autonomy. The executive power corresponds to the cabinet of ministers, led by the prime minister, whose members are elected by the *Riksdag* (the Swedish Parliament) and answer before him. The Swedish monarch, as in other parliamentary monarchies such as the Spanish, is the head of state and performs purely ceremonial functions. The legislative power is deposited in the Parliament, composed of a single chamber of 349 members. The legislative initiative corresponds, as in Spain, to the Government and to each and every member of Parliament. All legislation is published in the ECR Legislative Swedish (*Svensk författningssamling, SFS*), equivalent to Official Gazette (BOE).

Unlike the Spanish system of constitutional justice, concentrated and specialized, articulated around the Constitutional Court (based in turn on the Austrian and German model), Sweden has a system of diffuse constitutional justice, similar to that of the Anglo-Saxon countries. That is, ordinary courts are in charge of controlling the constitutionality of laws and other provisions, and may not apply those rules that they believe manifestly conflict with a provision of the Constitution. However, a peculiarity of the Swedish system is that those administrative authorities that apply legal norms in the exercise of a justice or public administration function are also entitled to exercise this control of constitutionality, although in practice it is limited to regulations and administrative rules (not to provisions with the status of law). At the same time, there is a Legislative Council (*Lagrådet*) which, as an independent body composed of magistrates, has, among other functions, the control of prior constitutionality of the proposals of law that are presented in Parliament, through non-binding opinions. Its advisory nature resembles the Spanish Council of State.

Territorial organization

Sweden is a unitary State, organized in 21 provinces (*län*), each with its own provincial council (*länsstyrelse*). Also, in each province there is a provincial deputation (*landsting*) that covers several municipalities (*kommuner*), each of them governed in turn by a municipal council (*kommunfullmäktige*).

The judicial system

Being a unitary state, Sweden has a single center of political, legislative and judicial power. The Swedish judicial system is organized into two parallel jurisdictional orders: the general courts of common law, which deal with criminal and civil

matters, and the general administrative courts. The general courts of common law are courts of first instance (*tingsrätter*), courts of appeal (*hovrätter*) and the Supreme Court (*Högsta Domstolen*). The general administrative courts are the administrative provincial courts (*förvaltningsrätter*), the administrative appeal courts (*kammarätter*) and the Administrative High Court (*Högsta förvaltningsdomstolen*).

In addition there are four special courts: the Labor Court (*Arbetsdomstolen*, matters relating to collective agreements and employer organizations), the Market Court (*Marknadsdomstolen*, matters relating to the improper marketing of products or services and competition), the Administrative Court of Appeal in Patent Matters (*Patentbesvärsrätten*) and, recently created, a specialized jurisdiction on signals intelligence and counterintelligence (*Försvarsunderrättelsedomstolen* or *FRA-domstolen*, responsible for overseeing the limitations on the right to secrecy of communications). There are also a number of specialized courts generally integrated into the district courts: courts of land and environment (*Mark- och miljödomstolar*), the regional commissions of the tenancy and leases rustic arbitration (*hyres- och arrendenämnd*) immigration courts (*migrationsdomstolar*) and press freedom courts (*tryckfrihetsdomstolar*).

The challenge of this communicative situation

In addition to the notable differences between the Swedish and Spanish legal systems, and the consequent difficulties in translating the terminology or the names of the institutions, another of the challenges -what I surely share with my colleagues who translate to or from English- It is the difference between the style of writing legal texts. This is due, in part, to the fact that Spanish, by its very nature, tends to use longer sentences, with more complicated constructions, while Swedish uses a simpler, concise and shorter style. It is remarkable, for example, the difference between a Swedish and a Spanish sentence, by the style of language, the layout of the text and its extension.

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White Melancholia: the Racial Society and the ethnicity

Margarette Fabias

Abstract *The main street of Midcoast is dotted with small storefronts and large old colonial houses. The speed limit is only 25mph, and one of the local cops is generally hanging out on a street corner, waiting to ticket anyone who might roll through the cross walks. Large SUVs and station wagons fill the parking spots, and on Sunday the streets are packed with traffic from the three churches in the few blocks. Where the main street branches down the hill, the campus of Midcoast Academy sits to the right. This private school has existed for over a hundred years, and the extensive campus stretches back behind the imposing front brick building. A mile up the coast on Rt. 1, past large homes with views of the ocean, the driveway for the recently renovated public high school is on the left. This modern looking building is brand new and surrounded by well-kept athletic fields that are frequented with children playing soccer and lacrosse. Mothers wait in idling cars for practices to end and chat about their children's busy schedules and upcoming school events.*

Keywords: racial society, ethnicity, melancholia, upcoming school events

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Introduction

The persistent emergence and pronouncement of ethnicity has fostered the development of research that strives to envision possible frameworks for the interpretation of this resurgence that has emerged over the past two decades. In a past research stay in Peru, I had occasion to observe the continuous production of works that address the growing and exalted ethnic pronouncement in the region. Among them, historical studies about the place of the Indian at the time of the construction of the Peruvian Nation, anthropological studies of the cultural production of the ethnic groups, as well as sociological works about the social, political and economic reality of the rural environment. A set of initiatives that make up a range of proposals that seek to understand the vigor achieved by the ethnic reference; but also, they emerge as frontmen of the progressive diversification of spaces and dimensions of reflection and interpretation of the contemporary phenomena of ethnicity. That is, insofar as they certify the existence of a vigorous diffusion of the ethnic, they also confer a fundamental contribution in understanding the complex nature of ethnicity, influencing multiple dimensions of their analysis.

Two Ramón Pajuelo Teves is an anthropologist and researcher at the Bartolomé de las Casas Center, Cuzco-Peru.

In this sense, to cite an example, a comparative study conducted by the anthropologist Ramón Pajuelo Teves, 2 titled *Reinventing imagined communities* (2007), situates its starting point, as many of these works, in that the energetic emergence of actions and strategies that revolve around the ethnic in the Andean region, does not respond in any case to the idea of a resistance indigenous, anchored to remote times and territories, immaculate and persevering since colonial times. On the contrary, he assures that it is a series of resignifications and changes experienced by these populations in the last decades and that the agitated negotiation and adaptation (power relations between the different collective aggregations and the respective States) encourage the development of strategies and artifacts that emphasize and (re) produce certain cultural features. From that base, Pajuelo focuses his research on the possible styles and ways by which ethnicity is imagined and recreated in the central area of the Andes (Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia). That is, it deals with the possible ways of articulating media and spaces, artifacts and technologies for the production of subjectivities, community imaginaries, sense of belonging, etc.

The production of these research works encourage the interest, from the sociological level, to understand the success and social effectiveness of ethnicity and, even more, to attend to the reason for their current ability to influence the behavior of subjects. In this sense, they invite us to reflect on their degree of diffusion and the type of actors through whom it extends. But in addition, they invite us not to neglect the work of the mechanisms and artifacts that are linked to it, insofar as they infer in the processes of subjectification crystallizing that which is enunciated as ethnic identities. Within this breadth of work and initiatives, I would like to reflect on, through a reading of certain works within the studies of ethnicity, why it manages, on the one hand, to proliferate within the discourses of social mobilization anchored in the reconfiguration of collective identities and, on the other, incorporate so diverse mechanisms by which it manages to operate on dissimilar individual and / or collective imaginaries. In this sense, we can include in the text the concern that suggests the possible articulation of current technologies based on information and communication with the social formation of ethnic aggregations.

Dilated imprint of ethnicity

1. A trace of origin in the social sciences

Among the long list of notions that have occupied the focus of the social sciences is ethnicity. Since the 1970s she has experienced a constant development within the theoretical reflection and, also, through contemporary social life. Although being an independent social fact to the scientific analyzes (Restrepo, 2004: 72), the certain thing is that the ethnicity was conceived like conceptual tool at that time, to approach of different way the understanding of the ethnic groups and their identities. In an analytical impulse, opposed to the preceding substantialism in the works on populations (ethnic groups), that conception of the ethnic groups was displaced as preexisting groups, of invariable belongings and natural attributes. Since then, the production and maintenance of meanings have become the main perspective of analysis as well as the articulation of the traits that define ethnicity and their relevance as constituents of the groups. In this way, the approaches were displaced:

From the analysis of the cultural content of ethnic groups at a given moment, to the analysis of the emergence and maintenance of ethnic categories (boundaries) that are constructed inter-subjectively in and through inter-ethnic relations [...], from the study of characteristics of the groups, to the study of the processes of social construction; from substance to form; from the static aspects

to the dynamic and relational aspects; from the structure to the processes. (Giménez, 2006: 132 ss.)

Fredrick Barth (1976), one of the leading thinkers of this analytical turn of population studies, with an invaluable contribution in his theory of ethnic frontiers, brought disquieting characterizations of the study and understanding of ethnicity that, as Gilberto Giménez suggests, they can be summarized in:

Ethnic groups should be considered as a form of organization, as the social organization of cultural differences. This means that, both within and outside the group, social relationships are organized based on cultural differences.

But this is not about supposedly objective cultural differences, but subjective differences defined and selected as significant by the social actors to classify themselves and at the same time be classified by others for the purpose of interaction.

Ethnic identity is constructed or transformed in the interaction of social groups through inclusion-exclusion processes that establish boundaries between these groups, defining who does or does not belong to them.

The identity of ethnic groups is defined by the continuity of their borders, through processes of inter-ethnic interaction, and not by the cultural differences that, at a given moment, mark or define these borders (Giménez, 2006: 134).

The first example that we could mention in this respect is the distinction made by Le Bot (1998) d (...)

However, despite the fact that the new theoretical and analytical perspectives quickly modified the lenses towards these considerations, and turned their efforts towards the development of exhaustive research based on this emerging perspective; They did not stop being surprised at the current emergence of ethnicity within the speeches of associations and collectives of new stamp. The extensive series of events in the light of these studies on ethnicity continue to fuel questions about their recent socially widespread representation. Several authors maintain that we are witnessing the emergence of a different reading of ethnicity that places it as a foundation on which voices of resistance and recognition are raised. 3 Image that is installed in the daily life of contemporary social life not only for its media dimension, as it was the emblematic case of Chiapas-Mexico, but also for its current diffusion through instances of international order. As Shane Greene points out, "The United Nations has made indigeneity official. The world labor organization (ILO) now consults indigenous bodies. The World Bank introduces indignity in international development policies and procedures "(2009: 33).

We live in times in which the ethnic pronouncement marks the transformation of that classic operative of the figure: to nominate the existence of groups from the external position of other collectives, usually dominant (König, 1998, Devalle, 2008 Larson, 2002).

2. Extended ethnicity in the social world

For a greater characterization of these representations, see the works of Méndez (2002) and Rod (...)

Ethnicity today gives place, without eliminating its function of nomination within the order of representation of the dominant social, to a positive pronouncement of the same, that is to say, to a "positive ethnicity" enunciated from the inside of the collectives, by subjects that call themselves as ethnic (Albó, 1991, Gros, 1998, Hall, 1996, Méndez, 2002). Even when authors such as Shane Greene (2009) rightly claim that ethnicity is not a new phenomenon, on the contrary, since the time of the incipient European colonialism, we are currently witnessing its resignification within the protest mobilizations as a resource and strategy. In a recent publication, the anthropologist Marisol de la Cadena expressed this question in a timely manner, stating that: the indigenous project thus opens a place in the arena of hegemonic politics by articulating its demands through 'culture', that is, using the terms (literally) acceptable by the dominant social contract, occupies the conceptual space assigned to the indigenous and makes it a political arena from which to claim rights with relative legitimacy. (From the Chain, 2008a: 28 ss.)

These assertions point out that ethnicity is disseminated through contemporary social life, where it performs an outstanding task through various forms of appearance - processes of self-determination, resistance and negotiation with States, new associations for the defense of common interests, etc. -; resignifying, as Pajuelo points out, "the past as well as the cultural differences, this task being what allows the collective unfolding of new identities" (2004: 9). In short, a manifest process of the constant construction of identities, which without completely eliminating the old connotations, acquires new contents (Méndez, 2000: 35).

Ethnicity, open notion

To provide a quick overview of the variety of experiences see: Stavenhagen, 2001; Larson (...)

In the progressive diffusion and social accommodation, the ethnic categories have acquired a degree of significance so diverse that it complicates their sociological apprehension, dissipating what once could be believed a uni-

ty. Within the breakdown of the paradigm of collective identities and that of their treatment through studies of ethnicity, a paradox has certainly been born. Despite the indications made by Restrepo (2004) about the consolidation of a reading of ethnicity from four premises: a) its contingency, positivity and historical specificity; b) its non-reducibility or epiphenomenality with respect to other networks or precipitates of social life; c) its immanent heterogeneity and polyphony in the filigree of the practices and imaginaries of the dissimilar actors, and d) its intrinsic relationality and close interweaving with articulations of power and resistance, the truth is that the term has only served to diversify its meaning. As its popularity increases and the use of the noun and its respective adjective (ethnic / a) are extended, the category has been losing, in turn, specificity. The diversification of cases in recent years has confirmed the onslaught of ethnic reference articulates diverse voices and actions that demonstrate a heterogeneous character. Ethnicity admits abundant combinations (Devalle, 2008) and plural experiences. 5 Its current revitalization in the social scene, indicates the expansion and complexity of the notion because of the framework of discursive practices inscribed in power games. In this regard, it seems to confirm that such revitalization comes from cultural difference (Giménez, 2006) in which a double exercise of determination is admitted: intra- and intergroup. In other words, ethnicity is currently contemplated in two senses: on the one hand, it continues to be a notion used to produce a discourse on the Other that reinforces its domination (Bhabha, 2002) and, on the other, it is a notion appropriate now by "those who were once subject to colonial rule" (Greene, 2009: 40), forming part of their collective mobilization repertoire.

This is a trope used by Stuart Hall to refer to those notions that are (...)

Although Marisol de la Cadena uses the notion of "emptiness" when referring to race, without a doubt (...)

Le Bot uses the notion of "generic ethnicity" and "open ethnicity" to account for that characteristic. (...)

Fredrick Barth said that ethnic categories are like an organizational container capable of receiving different proportions and forms of content in different social systems (1976: 16); reasoning to which the notion of "floating significance" suggested by Hall 6 can also be applied and, why not?, also the idea of "emptiness" by Marisol de la Cadena (2008a). 7 Similarly, other notions applied to ethnicity appear: the one of "generic ethnicity" and "open ethnicity" articulated by Yvon Le Bot in his effort to address the divergent pronouncements around it (Le Bot, 1998); 8 or the idea of "semantic cohabitation", with which Silvia

Rodríguez Maeso (2006a) points out the new situation of identification spaces, characterized by the juxtaposition of the representation of the archaic, absence of knowledge, on the one hand, and representation of a culture, of a tradition, on the other. It is in this context that the suspicion that I formulate as a hypothesis emerges: the constituent nature of ethnicity that marks the paradox is that which confers historical success. That is, its emptiness is what gives it the capacity to condition the construction of feelings, differences and identifications. "Nature" sociologically useful for the understanding of the complex processes in which some of the cultural features capable of bringing individuals together and crystallizing identities are legitimized.

Max Weber, in the chapter iv of *Economy and Society*, expresses that the notion of "ethnic" is a "term" (...)

To delve into the theoretical perspective of the imagination see: Appadurai, (2001); Durand, (2005); (...)

This suspicion finds support in the different works and investigations that collect and instrumentalize this paradox of ethnicity, even though Weber (1993), in his effort to define "ethnic group", proved that it was an extremely complicated category of analysis in the face of any effort of apprehend it sociologically. 9 In the opposite direction to that Weberian disquisition, very interesting proposals have gained strength. Among them the notion of "articulation" of Stuart Hall, with which explains the relationship between subjects and discursive practices from which emanate identities (Hall, 1996 and 1998). A notion that, opposed to a unilateral process, explains the relationship between "the discourses and practices that try to 'interpellate' us, speak to us or put ourselves in our place as social subjects of particular discourses, and the processes that produce subjectivities, which make us susceptible subjects to say "(Hall, 1996: 20). In this line is the development of works that, within the sociological concerns derived from the high diffusion of certain definitions or notions, strive to address the capacity of these to influence the behavior of the subjects (Albó, 1991; Degregori, 1995 ; Méndez; 2000; Greene, 2009). In the same way, studies that focus on the mechanisms that work so that this, ethnicity, get its diffusion and effect proliferate. Here we highlight the work of Benedict Anderson (2007) who, in his effort to understand the construction and dissemination of nationalisms, sharply outlined crucial issues in the processes of identity construction: a) the importance of imagination as the ground on which they record the national references and b) the deployment of technology that make their dissemination viable. On the one hand, imagination 10 appears as a field in which the ties that bind men are consumed (Durand, 2005), while on the other, technologies, under

the notion of "print capitalism" that includes century novels. xix and the newspapers that date from the same period, act as mechanisms by which the national imaginaries of the subjects are fed. Within these tesituras, it is possible to ask the question about the area that the new technologies play, when their deployment is unstoppable.

Eleven It should be noted that, although Weber thought of the not very precise ethnic notion, he sought to define the principle (...)

This complexity that we try to portray through the variety of proposals, was identified by Max Weber in his essay "Ethnic Communities", in his effort to define "ethnic group". As Cecilia Méndez points out, in this essay on "ethnic groups", Weber "almost prophetically anticipated" the current deconstructionist approaches (inspired by Benedict Anderson) around national and ethnic identities (Méndez, 2002, 38). Weber eagerly observed that, in the first place, it is a social figure of a constructed nature, an "artifice that makes us believe rationally in the personal relations of the community" (Weber, 1993: 319); and, second, that a set of heterogeneous elements is what nourishes it in different ways and from varied sources. In relation to this, he argued that a belief that infers in such a way in the imaginary "does not float in the air of invention, but is based on different mobile elements". Nevertheless, in spite of the abundant skill that it showed when visualizing those difficulties of working on a phenomenon that was supposed to be unitary (Ibid.: 324), 11 he could not foresee that the amplitude and dispersion of constituent elements of ethnicity, together with its elastic and malleable character, would reach (re) place it within the social theory. Thus, contrary to its forecasts, that problem that focused on the notion of "ethnic group", is what has come to be presented as an analytical challenge, even more so when it is presented as a notion capable of illuminating certain interstices of the social fabric, difficult of perceiving when using more closed and static conceptions.

Noting ethnicity in the field of their study

From the sixties the field of analysis of Collective Identity was instituted.

Following the inauguration of studies on collective identities, 12 Ethnicity is developed as a conceptual tool capable of indicating much of the semantic order of social aggregation, from the conjunction and juxtaposition of specific features circumscribed to specific moments. In fact, since then, ethnicity has not stopped being promoted as an analytical category by the hand of diverse tendencies - Marxists, instrumentalists, rationalists, constructivists and inven-

tors, etc. (Restrepo, 2004). Studies focused on the analysis of social significance through ethnicity have been forced to sharpen their focus on the games of power and resistances in which identities are produced.

For an approximation to the theoretical production of Cultural Studies see Cabello (2006) and Cur (...)

A this regard, again a clear example of the work of Stuart Hall (1981, 1996, 1998 and 2005) from the framework of cultural studies, 13 when it affirms that the identities, ethnic or of any other kind, can not be more than constructions that are detached from the relations between the groups, from the positions from which it is enunciated and from the history that precedes it. In this way, it rescues the notion of ethnicity as a category for the understanding of imaginaries and processes of subjectivation, and develops the notion as a kind of field where discourses, strategies and forms of subjectification are linked. For this, it offers the extension of the notion, first, after unlinking the possible ethnicity / modernity opposition binomials, and conceiving it as a plural element, product of constant transformations, capable of adapting to different conditions. Second, the need to understand it as a historical articulation, as a product of "discourses and discursive practices strongly linked to the context in which they emerge" (Restrepo, 2004: 36).

For Hall, ethnicity is structured from conditions that allow its articulation. Among them : a) their relational condition: subject to the relationships and their variability; to highlight some of its parts and others are left in the shadows. Thus, as Restrepo points out, "the ethnic term can invest different connotations according to the specific historical syntax in which it operates" (2004: 36). b) its positional condition, insofar as it regulates ethnic registration or affiliation, or even nomination or self-determination. And, c) its historical condition; that is, its condition as a product of the conjugation of discursive practices of the past and the present. For Hall, says Restrepo, although ethnicity is "partially produced from the present as the effect of political and discursive struggles over its meanings, they are not invented in a capricious way, without anchoring in historical contexts and experiences" (2004: 61).

She is the work of Anderson (2007) entitled Imaginary Communities. fifteen Imagination appears in this study as a relevant ground for social analysis and compression. (...)

The Whipala refers to the flags of seven colors that employ the groups that proclaim themselves as (...)

Similarly, examples abound in which the interest in social significance through ethnicity is outlined in the frameworks on which identities are con-

structured. Among them are the studies that focus on the possible deployment of artifacts for which ethnicity is extended and operates. Dominant perspective in the aforementioned work of Ramón Pajuelo, *Reinventing imagined communities*. In it, analytical approaches and approaches are incorporated serious previous work that focused on the structural potential that affects the consciousness of the subjects. So, with a direct gesture in the title of his study, Pajuelo leads us to the source 14 which is nourished to distinguish the imagination like terrain in which the rhetoric of the names, of the territory, of the belongings, happens to comprise of the subjects and where the identity projections find development. fifteen In this way, it develops its research on the emergence of new self-defined movements in ethnic terms and represented by a group of newly formed organizations that have displaced previous peasant-style movements (Pajuelo, 2007: 26). Pajuelo will try to focus his observation on the reformulation and reinvention of narratives of the nation based on the articulation of ethnic figures, where the imagination has an important social and collective character. It also illustrates the ways of imagining and projecting national identity through various elements and artifacts. In this way, he warns of the construction of powerful resources that go through the national imagination: the case of the map of nationalities and peoples in Ecuador, of the whipala 16 in Bolivia and the erratic appropriation of the indigenous imaginary by the Peruvian State during the government of Alejandro Toledo and his wife, the anthropologist Eliane Karp. Pajuelo pauses on the role of the mechanisms and technologies deployed in the social interweaving to develop on them the analysis of the possible ways in which resources such as these determine the processes of subjectivation of individuals. Finally, Pajuelo observes in the mechanisms and technologies the way in which some cultural features manage to be seen and positioned as attributes external to the imagination; the way in which they are placed within the social order of representation as if they were elements and attributes of a natural and given nature.

In summary, these works invite us to think about ethnicity from the diversity of ways in which it is presented. In any case, its articulated nature or combination of heterogeneous elements - material and symbolic, historical and invented - are sufficient conditions to confer the necessary authenticity to give "meaning and cohesion to individual and / or collective actions and practices" (Pajuelo, 2004: 11).

Ethnicity in the network

In this last section I would like, as a closing, to pick up the notion of ethnicity as a category of analysis. For this, I am going to refer to one of the possible social spaces, specifically cyberspace, in which the potential processes of articulation of ethnicity are exposed. [See: Ardèvol et al., 2004; Woolgar, 2005 and Lévy, 2007].

The interest, one might say classic, of the social sciences for the role that technology plays in the processes of social formation, is today strengthened by the continuous development of technologies within the social life. The new information and communication technologies encourage that interest through a series of new phenomena that are linked to them. 17 Among these, "virtual ethnicity" is presented as a favorable field of analysis for this reflection.

Virtual ethnicity refers to an ethnicity mediated by an increasingly technological world (Poster, 2003: 191) in which virtual environments become spatial extensions of social life (Hine, 2000, Grillo, 2007). Linda Leung considers that among the studies about the representation of ethnicity in the Network - some inclined to understand it on the one hand, as producers of racist discourses and, on the other, as not representative of ethnic minorities - the perspective of attending to ethnic groups that are actively involved in the environment (2007: 49-50). From this approach, it is understood that the net It contains a great capacity to offer plural representations of ethnicity, among them, Leung argues, alternative images to those offered by the traditional media of diffusion and influence that have constrained representations of ethnicity within popular culture (2007: 19). Along these lines, the words spoken by Mary Louise Pratt at the Cultural Center of the Inter-American Development Bank pointed towards the development of these processes:

In the communications revolution, these peoples and societies (indigenous peoples and tribal societies) have found new ways of demanding participation in these processes, of asserting their demands and aspirations, of incorporating their values and their vision of the world into dialogue and negotiations and to group together to try to defend their common interests. (Pratt, 1996: 3)

Mary Louise Pratt puts the conjugation of two elements on the table. On the one hand, that of the communications revolution linked to the development of new information and communication technologies, linked to the processes of construction of ethnicity, and, on the other hand, the recognition of those construction processes that assume as resource communication mechanisms or technologies. That is, it the processes of identity construction with the use of technologies. This leads us, following with the taxonomy of Pratt, to glimpse in that deployment and technological framework (in what has come to

be called "cyberspace") a new "contact zone". Understanding cyberspace as a place where they are activated ex novo processes of differentiation and social representation (Leung, 2007; Ardèvol et al., 2004). As a space where ethnicity is spread through dynamics and strategies that pursue the power to mean and give content to the cultural representation of social differentiation in virtual environments (ie : sites and web pages).

The emergence of virtual spaces through information and communication technologies can therefore be understood as a key moment in the unfolding of the paradox of ethnicity that we have pointed out. These technologies enable an articulation of ethnicity within the order of the virtual capable of activating new readings of it, even though it maintains a deep relationship with those that have preceded it. This disposition of ethnicity in relation to new technologies invites us to examine the link between material and symbolic configurations as well as the articulation of attributes through representational practices; that is, to "distinguish its emergence, not through networks but in networks, to observe its variable textual, graphic and auditory formations to which individuals are subject" (Poster, 2003: 215).

Ethnicity in the network is a sample of the potential articulated with new-born artifacts, capable of activating processes of identification and management of social differences according to the possibilities offered by technologies (Grillo, 2007). Ethnicity modulated in these spaces presents new challenges by understanding the frameworks of power developed through the practices of users, subject to the constant malleability of virtual content and the flexibility of the links that are generated there (Mayans, 2002). Circumstances in which ethnicity is redefined through the deployment of heterogeneous elements. *Virtualized configurations on which possible nomination and / or self-determination exercises are structured*, as it admits multiple users and managers of the presented information.

Finally, to support that the relevance of the study of ethnicity is that it leads us to notice the different readings made in the process of identification in relation to the set of deployed and heterogeneous elements, even when these separately have no meaning. Likewise, the analysis of ethnicity aims to understand the processes of construction of meanings through which modes of subjectivation and modeling of individual and collective imaginaries are activated.

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The states of Haiti and Mozambique in the context of postcolonial literature

Sandra Sousa

Abstract

In this essay, I compare two narratives of different nations, Haiti and Mozambique, with or objective of intersections to analyze between contexts after which colonial us each every fiction is embedded. My reading by Nadine Pinede's "Departure Lounge" (2011) and John Paul Borges Coelho's Field of Transit (2007) and informed by theoretical persuasive two. In the first place, based on the argument of Vivel Chibber (2013a, 2013b) that demonstrates that you post-colonial fail to provide the appropriate basis for a theory of human directs and the practice of global solidarity. Warwick Research Collective hair, built around the concept of "combined and uneven development". My textual analysis of "Departure Lounge" and Field of transit It is centered, subsequently, on a fictional representation of emerging practices, not inside traditional societies, that experience a process of modernization and the effects of a global capitalist system. I conclude proposed the output for the two post-colony studies limitations based on intersectional consent.

Keywords: *Haiti, intersectionality, literature, Mozambique, postcolonialism*

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Introduction

In this essay, I compare two narratives from different nations, Haiti and Mozambique, in order to analyze intersections between the postcolonial contexts in which each fiction is embedded. Two theoretical perspectives inform my reading of Nadine Pinede's "Departure Lounge" (2011) and João Paulo Borges Coelho's *Campo de trânsito* (2007). I draw first on Vivek Chibber's argument that postcolonial studies fail to provide an adequate basis for a theory of human rights and a practice of global solidarity. I then introduce the Warwick Research Collective's elaboration of a new theory of world literature constructed around the concept of "combined and uneven development". My discussion of "Departure Lounge" and *Campo de trânsito* subsequently focuses on the fictional portrayal of emergent practices within traditional societies experiencing a process of modernization and the effects of the world capitalist system. I conclude by proposing a way out of the limitations of postcolonial studies.

Of course, comparing experiences between Haiti and Mozambique may strike one as arbitrary or at least as unusual. Nonetheless, it is my intention to do precisely that. My purpose is to show that, beyond their different historical costumers - not to mention the obvious dissimilarity in terms of their colonial agents and these colonizers' *modi operandi* - there exist striking (though perhaps not obvious) affinities between their postcolonial worlds. By analyzing the short story "Departure Lounge" (2011) by Haitian descendant Nadine Pinede, and the novella *Field of transit* (2007) by Mozambican writer João Paulo Borges Coelho, I intend to show how these two countries and their peoples share common experiences and identities that are frequently disregarded by postcolonial studies.

Postcolonial Studies: Strengths

Before commenting on detail on our two fictional works, I would like to draw attention to Vivek Chibber's critique of postcolonial studies as developed in his recent book *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital* (2013a) in the second section of my essay. In the third section, I will introduce the new theory of world literature being elaborated by the Warwick Research Collective from the perspective of the concept of "combined and uneven development". WReC's work resonates deeply with Chibber's ideas and critique. These contributions serve to frame my analysis of "Departure Lounge" and *Field*

of transit and to enable my subsequent conclusions on how the study of World Literatures, especially those of the developing world, can benefit if we expand the repertoire of our theoretical and critical toolkit.

First, however, I should like to acknowledge significant strengths among a variety of postcolonial theorists. Postcolonial studies as a positive theory and also as a radical critique have been around for quite a while. Its most important non-European figures - *Gatri Chakravorty Spivak*, *Homi Bhabha*, *Ranajit Guha*, *Hannibal Quijano*, *Partha Chatterjee*, and *Dipesh Chakrabarty* - share a salient feature: they all broke ties with Marxism in the 1970s. In Portugal, much the same can be said - Although in some cases to a lesser extent - of the virtuous community of scholars centered around and led by Boaventura Sousa Santos in Coimbra.

There is much to admire in postcolonial studies. Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1979) forcefully exposed the ideologies of exoticism and lower difference imposed on the East by most Western writers - from anthropologists to travel diarists, literary and cultural critics. His work, mainly Foucauldian in methodology and effect, should be considered as foundational for postcolonial theory. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, whose theoretical work has been primarily inspired by deconstructionists (Jacques Derrida and Paul de Man, in particular), has claimed most of his career equal and parallel allegiances to feminism and to communism. Her seminal - or perhaps better "disseminal" - essay on "Can the subaltern speak?" (1988) was itself foundational for institutionalizing the term "subaltern". Ultimately, of course the notion of «subalternity» derives from Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, but with Spivak it acquires centrality within a major branch of postcolonial studies (especially the Subaltern Studies Group).

Following the Derridean impulse, Homi Bhabha emphasized what, rightly or wrongly, considered to be the aporia (undecidability ; intractable contradictions) of the subaltern's position and stressed (at least symbolic) potential for subverting colonial power through subaltern discourses, insofar as these may appropriate and resignify colonial logics. Ranajit Guha, whose work is informed and inspired the Subaltern Studies Group, stressed the importance of anti-essentialism in the construction of subalternity, as well as the need to write "history from below". And the art historian Siva Kumar contributed fundamentally to the notion of what he calls "contextual modernity". This view of modernity can be seen as a forerunner to the rearticulation in Marxist terminology by Chibber and WReC of the unevenness of modernity. Within postcolonial studies proper, Paul Gilroy's discussion of "double consciousness" also reverberates

with Marxist understandings of contradictory class locations and contradictory class consciousness. Originally set forth in WEB Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folks* (1903), the term "double consciousness" anticipates the feminist-Marxist concept of "intersectionality".

In Latin America, the Modernity / Coloniality Group (also known as the Decolonial Group) has produced major contributions from the perspectives of decolonization and opposition to imperialism and colonialism. This multidisciplinary group includes such prolific figures as the sociologists Anibal Quijano, Edgardo Lander, Ramon Grosfoguel and Agustin Lao-Montes, the semioticians Walter Mignolo and Zulma Palermo, the education theorist Catherine Walsh, anthropologists Arturo Escobar and Fernando Coronil, the literary critic Javier Sanjinés, and philosophers Enrique Dussel, Santiago Castro-Gómez, María Lugones and Nelson Maldonado-Torres. These scholars represent especially important influences in the development of the theories and practices of "Southern Epistemologies". And their main postulate - namely, that colonialism is not the opposite of modernity but rather part of its central dynamic (its "dark side") - can be made to dialogue with the Marxist idea of "combined and uneven development".

The research context of Portuguese postcolonial theory is dominated by researchers who are also broadly engaged with the project of identifying and elaborating "Southern Epistemologies". These include such brilliant scholars as Boaventura Sousa Santos and Maria Paula Meneses.

Postcolonial Studies: Limitations

Chibber focuses his critique of postcolonial studies primarily on the works by Ranajit Guha, Partha Chatterjee, and Dipesh Chakrabarty, all of whom are founding and key members of the Subaltern Studies Group. According to Vivek Chibber in *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital* (2013a), it was natural for these academics to take Marxism as their primary interlocutor. Nonetheless, I have argued,

The primary source of the engagement with, and rejection of, Marxism has been political: a sense that the world has moved on; That dilemmas of late capitalism, particularly in the Global South, can not be apprehended by the categories of historical materialism; Even more, that the failure of liberation movements in the twentieth century was, in substantial measure, the result of Marxism's abiding theoretical inadequacies. (Chibber, 2013a: 2)

As Pranav Jani explains:

Upon examining the work of Guha, Chatterjee, and Chakrabarty, Chibber claims that the key pillars of postcolonial theory are: (1) the West and the East are fundamentally different from one another, and (2) any theory seeking to understand these spaces under a common global framework is doomed to be Eurocentric. Imperialist, liberal, and even Marxist theories of global capitalism and modernity, goes the argument, end up taking the history of capitalism in north-western Europe as the template for what has happened in the rest of the world, and all of the used categories assume that parallel. But in reality, they say, colonial capitalism was completely different than capitalism in the West and produced entirely different societies and cultures. For postcolonialists, according to Chibber, the stark difference between regions in the world proves the limits of what Marxists call capitalism's "universalizing tendency" (its tendency to go global) and that European theories like Marxism can not provide the theoretical or historiographical tools to discuss that difference because they ignore cultural and historical diversity or positive narratives and subjectivities that do not exist in the Global South. (2014: np.)

In the past three decades, postcolonial studies has as a field acquired, certainly like no other literary critical trend, an outstanding visibility. Migrating quickly from literary analysis to other subjects, such as history and anthropology, and carrying with it a deep and abiding interest in culture and ideology, postcolonial studies replaced itself in the place previously occupied by Marxism. Thus, the main goals of the postcolonial theory would be to explain in a different way the function of capitalism and to enable a contrasting critique of its resulting inequities. Asserting itself not only as a theory, but also as a radical political practice, the fascination with postcolonialism spread all over, and it continues to thrive.

Chibber comments, however, that "the challenge faced by postcolonial studies is strikingly similar to the one accepted by Marxism a century ago - to generate a theory adequate to the needs of a radical political agenda" (2013a: 2). He calls, nonetheless, attention to the differences:

[...] the most obvious one being that Marxism's initial development and spread was almost entirely based on working-class organizations and political parties, while its foothold in universities was infinitesimally small. Postcolonial studies is its mirror image, having developed entirely within the university and, although drawing some inspiration from movements, rarely in more than symbolic contact with them. (2013a: 2-3)

Chibber highlights one of the major problems with this field of studies, ie, the lack of a research agenda and its presentation more as a political orientation than as a theory per se. Postcolonial studies do not offer a coherent methodology, but only a political agenda and perception. And Chibber adds:

It is not that postcolonial studies is an assemblage of theories while Marxism was not - in fact, Marxism always comprised an eclectic range of theories, much as does the former. The difference is that Marxism always sought internal coherence and while postcolonial studies resists any compulsion to bring together and assess its various strands. Thus, as its influence has spread, the variations in what falls under its rubric have tended to increase. From literature and cultural studies, to historiography, the philosophy of history, and anthropology, it is now possible to find postcolonial theory in all these areas and elsewhere, but with the common "theory" increasingly hard to discern. (2013a: 3)

It is then easy to understand why Chibber criticizes postcolonial theory. From his point of view, he tries to do the same as Marxism - ie, to explain the world and how to proceed in order to change it - and it fails in both realms. Postcolonial theory not only fails but also has serious conservative implications. For example, it revives such Orientalist ideas as that the West profoundly differs from the East: "it relentlessly promotes Eurocentrism [by portraying] the West as the site of reason, rationality, secularism, democratic culture, and the like, and the East as an unchanging miasma of tradition, unreason, religiosity, and so on". According to Pranav Jani, we can compare Chibber's formulation with that of Sarkar, a founding member of Subaltern Studies "Who famously left the editorial collective after it turned decisively toward postmodernism" (2014: 108). Jani adds:

In "The Decline of Subaltern in Subaltern Studies" Sarkar argued that the "detachment from socio-economic contexts and determinants" in Subaltern Studies had led to a simplistic vision of the "subaltern" (the marginalized, the oppressed) as being frozen in time, outside of modern life. As both Chibber and Sarkar contend, postcolonial theory and subaltern studies take us back to the same orientalist representations the colonizers peddled - now repackaged by this movement in the language of radical theory. (2014: np.)

By setting itself as an opponent of the universalization propagated by Marxism, postcolonialism claims that people are not influenced by their culture, but fully constituted by it. In Chibber's words, "That means their socializations is so strong, their culture and cultural indoctrination are overriding, that it is

their understanding of their basic needs and interests, like the importance of physical well-being or individual harm" (2013b: 41). For Chibber, a lot is at stake if we accept this statement, since any conception of human rights stops making sense. Chibber asserts that culture is always an important element of subjectivity, but it can not be taken as the essence of subjectivity if it makes people ignore their overall well-being.

Another argument put forward by Chibber in *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital* is that, while Marxism positions itself as a part of an international and universal struggle against capitalism - defending the idea that, beyond religion, color, gender, etc., the oppressed populations of the planet have interests in common in the struggle against capitalism - postcolonialism asserts that workers from non-western societies are not motivated by the same concerns as Westerners, that they do not even think in terms of their interests, ie, that they have a motive, basically different from westerners. For Chibber, this conception is reminiscent of the one used by the imperialist and colonizer countries when they deny rights to Asians and Africans. In this sense, Chibber's argument rests on the clearest of principles:

If you think people in postcolonial cultures deserve the same rights as people in rich countries, you can only make that argument if you also believe they have the same needs and interests as the latter. To deny this is to insist that Easterners and Westerners live in different worlds. Such a theory can not possibly sustain and support international movements as internationalism within the working class. (2013b: 42)

Chibber also addresses and challenges the claim made by postcolonial theory - one which is arguably one of its major fallacies - that Marxism is not different from colonial ideology because it is Eurocentric as the latter was. Nothing could be more false, however, if one looks at Marxism's history during the twentieth century. Chibber argues that, in fact, Marxism is the only theory that inexorably and incessantly engaged the eastern world. In his words, "The idea that it is a theory that ignores the nonwest or that it imposes western categories artificially, or that it is blind to the realities of the nonwestern world, is pretty far-fetched" (ibidem : 42). As Jani states, " PTSC offers a defense, from a left-wing perspective, of universalism, totality, reason, truth, reality, progress, knowledge, and other terms and concepts that have been denigrated and caricatured by postcolonial theorists and others [...]" (2014: np.).

Regarding the lack of internal coherence in postcolonial theory, Chibber explains the analytical confusion of postcolonialism in terms of a typical phenomenon of university culture:

This is the eagerness among academics to appear au courant, at the cutting edge, to display familiarity with the very latest conceptual advances. The most common means of doing this is to roll for the neologisms in order to pepper one's work with them, even if only for symbolic purposes. The result is a kind of conceptual inflation, in which the substantive influence of a framework appears to extend far beyond its current reach. (2013a: 3)

Moreover, the accusations leveled by postcolonial theorists against Marxism are only a way to build their own credentials:

[I]f you want to establish yourself as a radical in academia, and you do not want any of the hits to your career that come with being to 'Marxist,' the first thing you have to do is say something negative about Marxism. It establishes that even though you're on the left you're not 'one of them'. (2013b: 43)

By way of summarizing Chibber's proposals, and beyond the positive aspects that he finds in postcolonial studies - such as the maintenance of the idea that colonialism was extremely destructive and that it engendered a pernicious ideology - what happens in general with postcolonial theory is that we are served a quantity of scholarship and argumentation that is interested in criticizing the dominant order, but which is not anti-capitalist. In the end, Chibber underscores, this is all that postcolonial studies have to offer. Chibber goes even further by claiming that what we have is a theory that imports from leftist academic culture the empty and presumptuous verbosity that one can find in graduate seminar rooms. According to Chibber, it is necessary "to push back against some of the silliness and obscurantism that has been propagated by postcolonial theory" (2013b: 44). And, as Jani once again points out, "Chibber also reinvigorates debates about universalism, asserting that, in order to understand a world brought together by capitalism, we need to see the world as one - not by ignoring diversity across regions but by explaining how capitalism thrives on the creation of difference and heterogeneity" (2014: np.).

Literary Studies: Combined and Uneven Development

In their collaborative work, which recently appeared under the title *Combined and Uneven Development-Towards a New Theory of World-Literature* (2015), the Warwick Research Collective (WREC) proposes a new way to redefine and reinvent the field of literary studies, that is, how it emerges from its current crisis. WReC first lends support to Chibber's understanding of the significant ways in which postcolonial studies have failed, arguing in turn that, [i]f [Raymond] Williams's identification of a crisis in literary studies in

1981 can be taken to mark the emergence of various new initiatives - among them, postcolonial, ethnic and women's studies, cultural studies itself, the epistemological and methodological interventions of poststructuralism, postmodernism and deconstruction - perhaps the current moment is marked by the recognition that these 'new formations' have themselves now passed their sell-by dates. (2015: 4)

1. The authors explain that Trotsky amplified Marx and Lenin's work by formulating an "elaborated theo (...)

WReC then moves to resituate the problem of "world literature" by "pursuing the literary-cultural implications of the theory of combined and uneven development" (2015: 6, see also Davidson, 2014, Trotsky, 1906). This paradigm shift involves re-conceptualizing the notion of modernity, which means "de-linking it from the idea of the 'west' and yoking it to that of the capitalist world-system" (WReC, 2015: 15). The theory of combined and uneven development originated in the work of Engels, Lenin and Trotsky 1 ; more recently, Fredric Jameson has described the world literary system as "one and unequal" (1981; 2013). As WReC authors remark: "The theory of 'combined and uneven development' was therefore devised to describe a situation in which capitalist forms and relations exist alongside 'archaic forms of economic life' and pre-existing social and class relations" (2015: 11). So, in the first instance, WReC defines 'world literature' "as the literature of the world-system - of the modern capitalist world-system, that is" (ibidem : 8). This implies that we need to understand modernity as governed by unevenness. In other words,

The historically determined 'coexistence', in any given place and time, of realities from radically different moments of history [...]. The multiple modes in and through which this 'coexistence' manifests itself - the multiple forms of appearance of unevenness - are to be understood as being connected, as being governed by a socio-historical logic of combination, rather than as being contingent and asystematic. (ibidem : 12)

2. WREC here is following Harrootunian insights that "If modernity is understood as the way in which c (...)

In the same way, WReC argues that we need to recognize that capitalist development does not "smooth away but rather produces unevenness, systematically and as a matter of course" (ibidem). Another key element is that "modernity is neither a chronological nor a geographical category. It is not something that happens - or even happens first - in 'the west' and to which others later gain access "(2015: 13). Capitalist modernization entails development, "but this 'development' takes the forms also of the development of underdevelop-

ment, of maldevelopment and dependent development" (ibidem). WReC thus emphasizes that the "idea of some sort of 'achieved' modernity, in which unevenness would have been superseded, harmonized, vanquished or ironed out is radically unhistorical" (ibidem). "Alternative" modernities, as they have been attempted in recent state projects (for example, in Mozambique or Cubanized Angola), thus do not really represent a solution, since they derive from an "assumption as to the 'western' provenance of modernity - rather than [from] situating it in the context of capitalism as a world-system -... both misguided and unnecessary "(2015: 14). These modernities are better understood, in the authors' perspective, as " modernities (as long as they are understood only as a relationship to the centers of capitalism [...]), in which all societies shared a common reference provided by global capital and its requirements' " 2 (WReC, 2015: 14). According to WReC, such an understanding should challenge our uncritical habit of conflating epistemological and chronological primacy ('modernity happened in Europe first and best, and then in other places', etc.), and get us into the habit of systematic thinking in terms of non-linear conjunctions. (ibidem : 15)

On these questions, also see Jameson, 2013 and Jameson, 1981.

As we ready ourselves to analyze and to compare specific works of Haitian and Mozambican fiction, we do well to keep in mind two main ideas drawn from WReC : 1) capitalism should be understood to be the substrate of world-literature (its "political horizon "; 2) modernity should be understood as constituting world-literature's subject and form:" modernity is both what world-literature indexes or is 'about' and what gives world-literature its distinguishing formal characteristics "(2015: 15) 3.

In their analysis, they treat "the novel paradigmatically, not exemplarily, as a literary form in w (...)

WReC's argument can be condensed into the following summary assertions: "a single but radically uneven world-system; a singular modernity, combined and uneven; and a literature that variously registers this combined unevenness in both its form and its content to reveal itself as [...] world-literature "(2015: 49). World-literature is thus an analytical category and not one centered in, or by, aesthetic judgment. 4 In WReC's view,

the value of literary-world systems theory lies in the fact that it enables the comparison of discrepant literary subunits and social formations of the world-system, both at the same point in chronological time and at congruent conjunctures in the recurring rhythmic cycles of capitalism - Russian and Brazil-

ian novels of the 1880s, for instance, or those from the Austro-Hungarian empire and Ireland in the early twentieth century... (ibidem : 68)

In my opinion, it is by following WReC's proposed reconceptualization of world-literature that a comparative perspective is possible without following the same, well-known pitfalls of postcolonial theory.

Intersectionality

"Intersectionality" is a concept whose relevance to the argument of this essay will not be made clear until my conclusion. Nevertheless, it is useful to introduce " intersectionality " at this point if only as a suggestion for readers to keep in mind as they evaluate my interpretations of Pinede's and Borges Coelho's narratives. As a way of concretizing " intersectionality ", let us consider cases of what is often termed "identity politics". These will illustrate and confirm two points: (1) the symbolic creation of new identities requires materialization in political practices, and (2) identities are never singular, and that fact opens up the possibility of solidarity.

For example, the recognition, celebration, and appreciation of Afro- American culture within the African-American population in the United States helped centrally to consolidate an Afro-American identity. But Black liberation would have been impossible without the organized struggles carried out by The Universal Black Improvement Association, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, The Black Panthers, or The Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement, as well as by other lesser-known groups. In this way, the formation of an Afro-American identity during the twentieth-century required materialization in social practice as a condition for Black self-emancipation.

And what is true for the forms of the struggle that was in the 1960s? Black liberation movement, creating new Afro-American identities from older Afro-American subjectivities, is also true for other self-determining assertions of identity (Black Lives Matter today; for Women; the LGBTQ movement; Aztlan and the Chican @ movement; the American Indian Movement). Indeed, the successful emergence of such identities requires materialization in social practices, and in that sense, the mobilization of social movements can be said to transform "subjects" (individuals and groups as passively defined by a social system) into "agents" (individuals and groups as actively transforming a social system).

There subsists, of course, to a certain reification of "identity" in what we have just affirmed. Even in the case of identities based on self-determination - those that are articulated for the purpose of self-emancipation - These in fact

lack seamless homogeneity. They may be said to embody their own (stronger or weaker) contradictions, in particular historical conjunctures, such as tensions between women of color and white women, Cuban-American Hispanics and Mexican-American Latinos, gays and lesbians, Native Americans who continue to live on reservation territories and those who have relocated, full-time workers and the precariat, Oprah and Sojourner Truth.

Moreover, and now in a positive sense, identities lack seamless homogeneity because aspects of any individual subject's identity simultaneously converge with other social identities, even when the individual's subjectivity is constructed by an identitarian discourse as, in its essence, divergent. That is why it is necessary to introduce the concept of "intersectionality" into any discussion of "identity". And, indeed, for our purposes "intersectionality" has much to contribute to a discussion of the relations between the identities of the global North and West, on the one hand, over and against the global South and East, on the other, as they are constructed as antinomies in the context of postcolonial theory.

"Intersectionality" is a concept put forward by Black feminist scholar Kimberle Crenshaw and developed in various ways by Patricia Hill Collins, the Combahee River Collective, Barbara Smith and Angela Davis, among others. It is meant to capture two realities: (1) an oppressed individual, such as a Black woman, experiences multiple forms of oppression simultaneously (gender, race, and, in the majority of instances, social class); and (2) systems of oppression transcend singular identities. Thus Black men are ensnared in the same practices of racism that afflict Black women. Forms of oppression and exploitation based on sexual preference, social class, religion, and ethnicity similarly cut across gender boundaries, nationalities, roots, and creeds. In all of these cases, the isolation and vindication of a singular identity masks (1) the fact that multiple oppressions are integrated into an overall social system; and (2) the fact that those who suffer a particular form of oppression, which others do not suffer, still have an interest in allying with those others, since at some point (s) the oppression (s) each one experiences intersects with the oppression (s) experienced by others.

Views of knowledge and of politics based on "intersectionality" thus avoid the worst consequences of the kinds of "identity politics" that have become so fashionably dominant in the academic world. "Intersectionality" means precisely that one has an interest in fighting against all forms of oppression and exploitation. Moreover, it means that one does not need to personally

experience a specific form of oppression (racial, gender, national, class) in order to become an effective fighter against that oppression. In this sense, "intersectionality" reveals the limits of social movements based on "identity", including nationalist or regionalist movements whose politics reify the identities on which they are based.

"Intersectionality" is a key to understanding the limits of postcolonial theory regarding the cognitive and political insularity and incommensurability of North and South and East and West.

Departure and Transit

The relevance of WReC in this essay will quickly become apparent in my analysis of Pinede's "Departure Lounge". The relevance of Chibber must await my analysis of Borges Coelho's field of transit, as well as my CONCLUSION in Which the relevance of "intersectionality" Also appearing will. Succinctly put, these theories facilitate the analysis of formal structures as well as the ideologies conveyed by these literary forms. Since I do not want to be accused of "oversimplifying", and therefore of being a "reductionist, mechanical Marxist", I wish to stress from the outset that our fictional texts are not mere "reflections of reality" nor are they mere "pretexts" for the interpretive perspectives I employ. On the contrary, I consider that each fictional narrative intervenes in specific political-ideological circumstances and, in doing so, produces insights embodying genuine cognitive import.

So I begin here by analyzing "Departure Lounge" and I try to show how it is only "by grasp [ing] it as the literary registration of modernity under the sign of combined and uneven development" (WReC, 2015: 17) that it is possible to compare with Borges Coelho's *Golf trânsito*. World-literature in this sense encompasses

[...] modes of spatio-temporal compression, its juxtaposition of asynchronous orders and levels of historical experience, its barometric indications of invisible forces acting from a distance on the local and familiar - as these manifest themselves in literary forms, genres and aesthetic strategies. Any typology of combined and uneven development will offer a catalog of effects or motifs at the level of narrative form: discrepant encounters, alienation effects, surreal cross-linkages, unidentified freakish objects, unlikely likenesses across barriers of language, period, territory - the equivalent of umbrellas meeting sewing machines on (animated) dissecting tables. (ibidem)

By compressing spatio-temporal periods of Haiti's history, Pinede's short story falls within WReC's understanding of world-literature. "Departure Lounge" tells the story, narrated in the first person, of Fabienne, a tour guide

who is supposed to show Haiti to Miranda Wolcott, a well-off food journalist. As she waits for Miranda at the airport, Fabienne tries to justify her coming back to Haiti by invoking her dead grandmother's "signs" from the grave. During her trip with Miranda, on which they are going to visit co-ops in Cap Haitien accompanied by Manuel, the agronomist and program manager at Plant for Peace, and Alexis, the director of Plant for Peace, Fabienne's stream of consciousness narration goes back and forth, a strategy used to make the reader aware of some crucial events in Haiti's history. Examples are the Massacre River, "where in 1937, the Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo ordered the slaughter of at least twenty thousand Haitians" (2011: 256), and the need for Fabienne's parents to leave Haiti because of the brutal government of Papa Doc Duvalier.

In "Departure Lounge" one is faced with inequality on multiple levels. For one, there is open racism: "Then we moved to the US, where my classmates asked me if I stuck pins into Vodou dolls. Oh, and if we were responsible for AIDS" (WReC, 2011: 251). Another topic of inequality falls into the category of belittling / discrediting Haiti's cultural / historical importance: "Maybe the sad state of my birthplace is embarrassing me, though I will never admit that to her. It's complicated to try and explain how I can be proud of the most people see as a hopeless basket case" (ibidem : 252). Issues of sexism and gender inequality are also portrayed: "The smoke snaked along the poto mitan, the middle post holding up the temple. Grandmère Lucille would always say women were the poto mitan of the world. Then one day I asked why the priests at our church were men" (2011: 247). Besides other aspects, the short story also conveys the feeling of being from one's own culture: "I can understand my parents' language but can not use it here, now, for a simple greeting. I can translate long speeches from Creole to English for Miranda, yet can not string together one simple sentence when I need to. I am functionally illiterate in what should be my mother tongue, a fumbling tourist in what should be my homeland" (ibidem : 257).

Nonetheless, it is the worker's struggle – their protests and potential use of violence as a means of social/political power – that surfaces as one of the most striking features of the narrative: "The farmers begin to tell stories of being threatened and forced to sell their land so as a free-trade zone can be built. 'We will fight for this land until we die!' they yell, waving their machetes. But some say they're afraid of what may happen if they don't sell. Alexis listens to all of it along with us, then he asks if there's a way they can put their heads together" (ibidem : 257).

By paralleling individual and collective suffering, the narrative can be taken from its historical and geographical context, in order to become a text that speaks to and about humanity:

"You are crying", says one of the farmers. I look up and recognize his face. Earlier, when we were walking through his land, I had spotted me and called out in Creole, "You are Haitian, are not you? I can tell by your beautiful skin. " But now his voice is sharp: "You are crying, but we are the ones with a reason to cry." I have a reason too. I can understand my parents' language but I can not use it here, now, for a simple greeting. (ibidem : 256-257)

Not to dismiss Fabienne's own struggle with her split identity, it is nevertheless the farmers' quest against the government for better working and living conditions which makes this story valuable as an example of world-literature.

Turning our attention now to Borges Coelho's fictional work, *Field of transit*, will allow us to establish some parallels between the two narratives and to draw a few conclusions.

The plot of *field trânsito* is in September around the life of the protagonist, J. Mungau, located in a transit camp. Mungau is taken there in the middle of the night and never knows the reasons for his arrest. Even though it is easy to associate the narrative with a critique of the reeducation camps established in Mozambique after its independence, Borges Coelho asserts that is necessary to avoid such a reading:

In this sense, the book of referentiality is simultaneously connected and not connected to the reality of Mozambique and can be situated in the context of global civilization. As WReC puts it, this Mozambican text should be considered together with the Haitian text discussed above because they both "bear testimony - in their own distinct ways, and in both their form and their content - to the 'shock of the new', the massive rupture effected at the levels of space-time continuum, lifeworld, experience and human sensorium by capitalist modernization "(2015: 50). Even though the space is described, there are no references to an identifiable geography. It is this particularity that opens up the narratives to and for the "juxtaposition of asynchronous orders and levels of historical experience, its barometric indications of invisible forces acting from a distance on the local and family" (ibidem : 17).

Field trânsito alludes to a possible scenario Situations Where all the Conveyed by a totalitarian State emerges Where the capitalist order reigns, transforming into a collective Individuals Where Their human individuality as well as Disappears Their social rights. None of the book's characters have a proper name, with the exception of the protagonist. They are either identified by num-

bers, by their profession (Village Chief, Professor, Director), or by some other characteristic (Professor's Wife, Egret, Pitted). We can observe here striking similarities with Pinede's "Departure Lounge" where the farmers who live in Haiti's border are described as a collective voice that can be placed in any corner of the world, where the peasants are threatened and forced to sell their land to comply with the capitalist processes and forces imposed by the intervention of imperialist countries. It is the lack of democracy that links Pinede's peasants and Borges Coelho's people at the reeducation camps, all of whom are forced to abandon their lands, displaced, and with no choice other than compliance.

While it is customary simply to take at face value Frelimo's claim that it implemented "socialism" (...)

Another similarity suggested by both narratives can be located in the vicious attacks perpetrated by the State on its individuals: Manuel, as we have seen, gets abducted by a group of armed men and has not been seen since, as many have also disappeared at the reeducation camps in Mozambique. This also leads to the idea of massacres on a greater or lesser scale, carried out by the country's government - as in the case of Mozambique as portrayed by Borges Coelho's narrative (where a supposedly socialist State tries to impose on its inhabitants a new mentality based on Marxist-Leninist principals 5) - or by neighborhood governments - as in the reference made in Pinede's short story to the 1937 slaughter ordered by Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo, which took the lives of at least twenty thousand Haitians.

One of field trânsito 's MOST interesting features is the class Taught by the Professor in Which I instructs the prisoners in regard to the virtues of collectivity vis-à-vis the disease of individuality. In Mungau's opinion, "a colectividade é um corpo só,

um corpo what result gives União das várias singularities "(Borges, 2007: 75). On the other side, Prisoner 13.2 believes, in opposition to Mungau, that "uma união simple

of singularities SW Poderia be numa singularity that, embora Maior, would continue to be também ela limited "(ibid : 76). Transformation would be the solution- " *uma colectividade é, isso sim, uma união de colectividades transformadas !*" (Ibidem : 76). The Professor then shows the importance of the collectivity by comparing the garden labored by Prisoner's 13.2 group with his wife's, emphasizing the vitality of the first in opposition to the poor quality of the second. According to his point of view, the lesson is obvious: "Is it worth such individual stubbornness? Both excesso, say assim, of

singularity ? Vale worth desafiarmos sozinhos to natureza "? (Ibid : 77). The dutiful students reply that no, it is not worth it to defy nature alone. Nonetheless Borges Coelho's narrative suggests something else, since it places in the hands of the Professor's Wife - a character apparently without voice and power, submissive to her husband who mistreats her violently - the agency of the Director's murder following his rape of her while she worked in her garden:

Espreitando from behind do rochedo Mungau tem enfim to visão gives horta gives Mulher do Professor. *A meio dela, on top das rickety couves, holds com or Director of calças falls até years tornozelos, com as Perninhas fortes bem à Mostra. Segura Mulher do Professor, muito maior do that ele, com as suas duas energetic Aranhas ; obriga - a a manter -se of cats no chão enquanto prossegue com uma arrastada prelecção. Sublinha aquilo what diz com puxões secos what to obrigam to twist a cabeça ea impedem to be lifted.* (Borges, 2007: 123)

Later, she asks Mungau : " Entrepreneur- me a tua faca. Tenho de fazer um trabalho what só com ela posso fazer. I return- assim that or conclude" (Borges, 2007: 142). Mungau's thoughts convey the awakening of a woman against her oppression not only by men, but also by the capitalist power embodied in the Director's character: É a primeira time what lhe ouve a articulad- ed voice assim, proferindo a whole sentence inteira. Não são nem uivos roars gives fera, nem sequer you gemidos de uma brutalizada vítima. É apenas uma voz de mulher. E di -lo enquanto se vira fugazmente para trás, na direcção gives moribunda horta. Como se só aquela faca fosse capaz de a fazer reviver. (2007: 142)

This act will change life in the fields. Perhaps the sexual violence can be understood as analogous to the crimes committed against the people and the land by capitalism's penetration of pre-capitalist societies. The Professor's Wife contains in herself a powerful negative critique of the social and political system that is in place. She also can represent the potential for resistance to the physical and psychological violence that is imposed on her and on the people of Mozambique. The same can be said about Manuel. Even though he is kidnapped, and his disappearance may imply his death, he was resisting the power of capitalism in a society highly dominated by American and European imperialism and capitalism. Alexis and the peasants who survived "the vicious attacks that took place yesterday in Hinche against peasants leaving the Congress" (ibidem : 261) will keep on fighting "against globalization" (ibidem : 258).

At the end of the novel, one observes the dissolution of the totalitarian organization spread across the three fields - the Old, the New and the Transit one. The prisoners of the two first ones revolt and threaten to invade the third,

which lost its leadership. In the midst of the chaos, out of which there seems to be no other way except imposing a new absolute order, the Professor's Wife keeps working on her garden apparently oblivious to her surroundings:

Semicerrando you olhos, Mungau consegue ainda ver uma minúscula horta mais distante onde um vulto inclinado trabalha com afinco, como se todo o trabalho what há a fazer tivesse de serfeito hoje. Como se amanhã já fosse tarde. Um vulto what enterra to enxada no chão com a mesma convicção com que se enterra uma faca afiada num macio peito. (Borges, 2007: 195)

Her resistance to the totalitarianism imposed by the new post-independence government can also be interpreted through the world-literature analysis proposed by WReC as a reflection of the multiple temporalities extant in the combined and uneven development of a periphery. Her way of cultivating her garden can be seen as a traditional mode of subsistence which, along side of the cruel attempts at destruction by the colonialist order, remains alive and still struggles against the new system of modernization. Mungau's position of critical opposition, which he maintains until the end by fighting against the absurdity of his arrest, parallels in "Departure Lounge" the actions of the Haitian activists, who never stop voicing against the absurdities of their nation.

I suggest here that both texts are narrated, using WReC's words, "the coexistence and clash of customary and emergent social and cultural practices in... traditional societie [s] in the throes of capitalist modernization" (2015: 88). In Mozambique, with its traditional modes of subsistence and an old order inlaid within traditional religions, we can hear the echoes of Haitian voodoo: "Obrigoso a ler essa ordem nas buried stones, we ossos what afloram e nos esititam" (Borges, 2007: 103).

This is also mostly exemplified by the clash between the Village Chief's views and the Director's.

According to the Village Chief the prisoners have to learn to distinguish between recollection and tradition:

Both depend gives Memória mas são inteiramente different. Enquanto to lembrança é um exercício individually and rebellious, futile and pouco Produtivo to tradição é fruit gives ordem. Estes prisioneiros chegaram here com as suas private and desprezíveis lembranças. Acusavam as authorities of acontecimentos antigos, acontecimentos scattered what hoje não fazem qualquer sentido. Aos poucos, contudo, vão chegando à tradição, a este sentido supremo que é sabermos todos de onde vimos,

esta certeza de virmos todos do mesmo lugar. E sobretudo, esta vontade defazermos hoje como foi feito antigamente. (Borges, 2007: 102)

The Village Chief also “ desconfia gives modernidade que se respira no Campo de Trânsito, teme as perversidades what is deixa fermentar ” (ibidem : 184). The Director, on the other hand, “perde - se nas trufas, pensa what elas são a solução para everyone you problemas, a forma de amansar you prisioneiros. Desdenha deste trabalho, diz what perco or meu tempo seeks to calhaus ' ”(ibid : 103-104). In this context, the truffles would be the symbol of the throes of capitalist modernization.

João Paulo Borges Coelho's novel also falls into this category. WReC describes the novel as " inhabi (...)

The representation of space in both narratives also exceeds the description of its physical characteristics, “as the political and cultural implications are joined to intimations of the 'irreal’” 6 (WReC, 2015: 88). Mozambique and Haiti mark a verifiable position in the map, but they also allude to a place of fantasy in the imperial imagination – the Soviet Union and China in the former's case; the United States, the IMF and the World Bank in the latter. Also, the realities lived in the context of these physical spaces extend beyond their national borders and are felt throughout other world peripheries, as highly suggested by Borges Coelho's omission of proper names and country designation in his novel. Both narratives intersect at the human level where human beings are being oppressed and exploited by the capitalist system. Both also envision a way out by portraying the union of the individuals in a common cause. Borges Coelho's novel describes that space of encounter – revolution? – in a moving manner:

He murmurs -everything or unoccupied- on the benches two feirantes, na camarata two guards, we labirínticos corridors between the casinhas two prisioneiros, not crowded with crianças, velhos, mulheres and domestic birds to which chamam de Aldeia Nova Chamam, - murmurs - It is also known that it is located in the Campo Novo junction in the Campo An-tigo algures to Meio do Caminho. São agora uma horda só. Ao braço forte e desarvorado juntou - is a perfidious inteligência. As luvas cinzentas, able to cash in turn as tenazes, têm agora pairs oculi of lentes grossas that as guiem. Knowledgeable destes zunzuns, you feirantes embalam you seus produtos, recusam - is to sell -the ainda what lhes seja offered or dobro do preço that before pediam. You keep, for the time being, planting weapons inside do chão as hardy villages traveling through unseen and metallic sementes, burying their own bundles as circum-spect coveiros, libertam -se of passed identities, fazem as Contas das that lhes convém assumir. [...] Já is fala em liberdade, fear -se or pior. (2007: 192)

Conclusion

This essay has attempted to show how world-literature theory as proposed by WReC can function as a way forward of older paradigms of reading literature that in one way or another iterate and reiterate imperialist ways of dividing the world and its populations. My argument has unfolded within the context of Vivek Chibber's critique of postcolonial theory - a critique which suggests that postcolonial studies, although once undeniably part of the vanguard of intellectual innovation, now constitutes a scientifically and ideologically stale paradigm restricting further advances in emancipatory cultural theory and practice. Postcolonial theory posits entrenched dichotomies and unbridgeable gulfs between and among regional geographies, races, ethnicities, nations, genders, modern and traditional societies, individuals and collectivities. The two fictions we have considered here, however, effectively cognize and represent a means of overcoming such divisions through forms of solidarity.

In "Departure Lounge" Fabienne's evolving consciousness of Haitian inequalities also implicates inequalities in the US. The representation of its split identity suggests the potential for cross-cultural understanding and resistance. The farmers' struggle against the destruction of their lands by the forces of economic imperialism (the transmutation of Haiti into a super-exploited free-trade zone) subsumes individuals within a purposeful collectivity while diminishing neither individual personality nor social movement, as happens with the subordination and sacrifice of individuality in oppressive collectivities (such as capitalist minimum wage workers or Stalinist slave labor camps.) The overlay of economic and cultural temporalities accentuates Fabienne's alienation from her native language, as well as from her past in Haiti, at the same time as it stimulates her memories of a frequently alienated youth as a Haitian immigrant to the US.

In *Field of transit*, the bad collectivities imposed by capitalism and Stalinism - both of which seek to erase the independence of individual thought and action - are contrasted with the good collectivities envisioned by Mungau and practiced by the Professor's Wife and the political prisoners who revolt in Transit Camps One and Two. Here, especially in the dialog / debate between Mungau and Prisoner 13.2, the narrative voice evinces a belief in the power of social struggle to transform both individual subjectivities and collective consciousness alike. The parallelism between the Prisoners' gardening (collective) and the Professor's Wife's gardening (individual) drives home the same point. Similarly, the garden as the scene of the rape of the Professor's Wife by the Director and the subsequent vengeance exacted against him by her -

especially in the light of the Professor's ongoing physical abuse of his Wife - accords to the individual (Wife) a revolutionary agency that, once again, parallels and helps to compose the collective revolt against capitalism and Stalinism. Moreover, the revenge of the Professor's Wife produces direct effects in the fields. These effects symbolically figure not only the possibility of solidarity and unity in struggle but also a form of collectivity that, again, does not erase the individual. They highlight the possibilities of resistance along both gender and class lines - possibilities that become and which remain available precisely in the context of "combined and uneven development". Indeed, perhaps more than than "Departure Lounge", Transit Field helps us to understand a number of the political opportunities embedded in the dynamic of an uneven modernity.

Such realities and possibilities, as expressed in "Departure Lounge" and Field of Traffic, make clear how and why the notion of "intersectionality" contributes to fundamental perspective to a theory of world-literature based on combined and uneven development. Specifically, it elucidates in and for the world-literacy system that a better future can be envisioned by way of cutting across the borders between countries and continents and enabling citizens to discover that they share much more in common than they were taught to think by the oppression and exploitation of capitalist powers.

Intersectionality, world literature as a function of combined and uneven development: these ideas not only strengthen postcolonial studies but they also strengthen Marxist literary and cultural theory. As Sharon Smith argues, intersectionality as an approach to fighting oppression does not merely complement but also strengthens Marxist theory and practice - which seeks to unite not only those who are exploited but also those who are oppressed by capitalism into a single movement that fights for the liberation of all humanity. (2013-2014: 21)

Smith adds:

As an additive to Marxist theory, intersectionality leads the way to a much higher level of understanding of the character of oppression than that developed by classical Marxists, enabling the further development of the ways in which solidarity can be built between those who suffer oppression and exploitation under capitalism to forge a unified movement. (ibidem : 22)

It would seem that the impossibility of solidarity (East vs. West; North vs. South) that has been institutionalized by postcolonial studies can be overcome and surpassed by ways of reading and thinking about literature and the social world that brings together writers, books and readers from different, yet inter-

sected, spaces and histories within a common effort to overpower the inequalities created by capitalism.

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About Interview with Professor Lou Kushnick, 13 June 2014

Julie Devonald

Abstract *The AP is recognized by its classification capacity and connection to the evaluation and promotion of students, expressed through notes and grade points averages which name it objectively. Even so this condition is not valid, while it is integrated to subjective, personal and social factors which turn the fact into a phenomenological condition, with the need for identification and description. In this way it is proposed to write that shows the differences between students according to their classification of AP and qualitative analysis of social conditions such as family, school and socioeconomic status.*

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Introduction

The performance academic (1), is understood as the system that measures achievements and construction of knowledge in students, developed by the intervention of strategies and educational didactics that are evaluated through qualitative and quantitative methods in a subject (Jiménez, 2000, in Navarro ER; 2003; Paba, 2008, in Zapata R, De Los Reyes, Lewis and Barceló, 2009; pp. 68). Its objectivity is in the fact of evaluating the knowledge expressed in notes, but in reality it is a phenomenon of complex characteristic that is the result of subjective characteristics, which are necessary to understand and link to the educational action, social sciences and education-

al psychology. (Lambating and Allen, 2002; in Caso NJ and Hernández GL, 2007; pp. 25; Casanova, De la Torre and De la villa, 2005, in Zapata, Delos Reyes, and Others; 2009; pp.75).

Currently, the Colombian Ministry of Education (MEN) defines five classification levels that are deficient, insufficient, acceptable, outstanding and excellent (MEN, 2002, Martínez, Lewis H and Moreno T, 2006, Case N. and Hernández G).. 2007), in some institutions are complemented with numerical and qualitative assessments, generally and in almost all the world, the classification is in four levels that are high, good and low performance and school failure.

The high performance, also named as excellent, outstanding or in valuation of 4 to 5 or 8 to 10, depending on the institutional system. (Zapata R, De Los Reyes, and others, 2009: pp. 68) Describes the condition of the student as possessor of learning with sufficiency and promotion to the next grade. (Martínez, Lewis H and Moreno T. 2006, Peralta 2009). The good is known as acceptable or with notes from 3 to 3.9 or 6 to 7.9, indicates the possession of knowledge in an irregular or imbalanced manner. The student achieves the promotion but with pedagogical, personal and family follow-up. The classification low or deficient, ranges from 2 to 2.9 or 3 to 5.9, describing the non-achievement of knowledge creation, the student having to recover through reinforcement and reevaluation, to obtain the promotion. (Martínez, Lewis H and Moreno T., 2006, Carranza VR, González R, and others, 2004). And the lower or school failure, is between 1 to 1.9 or 1 to 2.9, expresses the absence and emptiness of knowledge and the failure of pedagogical action in the construction of learning, (Gonzales BC, 2000; Beltrán and Bueno, 1998), is granted to the student who, in low performance, makes recovery and reevaluation and reoccurs in the loss, not obtaining the promotion of the matter and the school grade.

The review on the subject it shows, the existence of the RA, with objective characteristics that are represented in the note, political instances and evaluation systems, that justify it as an educational element in almost all the countries of the world. However, it also describes a subjective and complex condition phenomenon. (Peralta, 2009. pp.29; Nieto MS 2008; Rodríguez Espinar, 1982; pp. 37; González F. and Rodríguez P., 2008; Edel NR 2003), with integration to social factors such as family, school and socioeconomic

The literature Explain the positive relationship with the family conditions of the student, family conflict, intrafamily violence, affective climates, accompaniment in school activities and processes and schooling of parents. (Minuchin,

1985). With the scholar, the elements are referenced, infrastructure, school climate, organizational systems, learning strategies, perception of teachers according to the performance of the students and pedagogical accompaniment, (Luque D. and Rodríguez G., 2006, Cantaluppi RF 2005, Mella O. and Ortiz I. 1999). And in the socioeconomic, the relationship with the stratum, the culture, the neighborhood conditions, the family and school culture and the industriousness of the parents are described. (Enríquez G. 2008, Fernández G. and Rodríguez P. 2008, Peralta B. 2009, Farjas A. Madrigal C. 1994).

It also describes the scenarios and expectations, referencing that according to longitudinal studies, students with low performance and school failure, have greater frequency of difficulties in adulthood as little motivation, no structuring of life projects, less possibility of social mobility, criminal activities and early onset of alcohol and drug use. (González BC, 2003, OECD 2000, in González BC, 2003, Caso N. and Hernández G., 2007;), are also named studies of work condition that conclude that individuals with basic education obtain unfavorable working conditions in difference of people with secondary level in which a large number of people who are in informal jobs were deserters of school systems that placed them in low and failure classifications. (Calero, 2006 in Fernández GJ and Rodríguez P., 2008; pp. 324).

Projecting the phenomenon as a problem not only personal but also social and political, as he explains, Beguet, Corta de Kohan, Castro S. and Renault G. (2001), describing that the education of the 80s in the United States has failed while 60% of the students presented a low performance, reducing the capacity for scientific development and technological, necessary for the mobilization of the country. Similar conclusion Tedesco arrives (1981 in Tanaro I. 2004), referencing Latin America and concluding that the only thing education is offering is a social problem and a delay in the scientific development of the entire continent.

The economic cost of students in low and school failure, they are shown by the loss of time and the non-compensation of the efforts of families, society and the state, but according to the MEN, they are unsustainable costs (MEN, 2003. Carranza VR, González R., and Vivas, 2003), having to create policies that nullify the possibility of failure, such as the one named in 1994, which only accepts 5% of educational institutions. students in condition to repeat a grade school. (MEN, 2003), with the aim of motivating educational institu-

tions to reduce this phenomenon, which has reached 431 thousand repeaters, with a total cost of 326 billion pesos and represented in the 5.8% of total education spending. Resources that according to the MEN, could be used to increase net coverage of education by more than three percentage points (MEN, 2003, Carranza VR, González R. and others, 2003).

In spite of this, the situation does not stop worrying, as the international and national figures are not encouraging, for example, López M. and Schnitter M. (2010) and Apple tree; (2007) refer that in the United States, there is a 17% of students in school failure. In Europe, Fernández G. Y Rodríguez P.; (2008), show that in Spain, 26% of students of 15 years, have repeated a course and Ardevol M. (2010, pp7), describes that in the same country, 32% of students, between the ages of 20 and 24, do not achieve a degree, thus broadening the barrier of labor and social problems.

In Latin America, the situation does not change as described by Posso RM (2008), who reports that in Guatemala, low academic performance is one of the most frequent problems. Talero, Espinosa and Vélez, (2005), explain that in Bogotá - Colombia, similar figures are handled to those of the United States and Porta E. and Laguna J. (2007), describe that according to the evaluation made in 2008, with application of TIMSS test to 425 thousand fourth grade students from 37 countries Y eighth grade of 50 countries, it was identified that in eighth-grade mathematics no student, I was in the upper level and only 2% of the students were classified as high and 11% as intermediate, compared to 46% as the international average, the 39% of Colombian students were classified at a low level.

Fernández GJ and Rodríguez PJ (2008), who also analyze the results of the same tests, concluded that the results in mathematics and sciences are below the international average and that 50% of the students do not demonstrate the basic knowledge of the natural sciences. The author Treviño, Valdés and Others. (2010), They have carried out comparative studies between 1995 and 1998, finding that the Colombian student are in their vast majority at average performance levels below countries such as Cuba, Argentina and Brazil (Ortiz PM and Zabala JA, 2001). On the other hand, Enríquez GC (2008), explains that in Medellín and according to the National Survey of Demography and Health (ENDS, 2000), the repetition figures of students are higher in the first grade of primary school, reaching a 21 % and in sixth grade that is from 8%, repeating more children than girls and in municipalities such as Bolívar, Sucre, Córdoba and the Pacific Coast, the figures are higher than 40%, a situation that contrasts with those of Bogotá that average 7%, Cali 13 % and Medellín, 16%. It also de-

scribes that in the official schools of Bogotá, there is a 25.6 %, of children classified as underperforming and on the Caribbean Coast, is 85% (Ortiz PM and Zabala JA 2010).

Figures what they call the attention, when it is had the conviction, that the present and the social future of our country depends on the capacity in the development of the thought and the intelligence of our students who may be able to improve technology, science and the generation of alternatives that solve the problems of humanity. For this it is necessary to have quality students and work for the transformation and improvement of individuals with difficulties in the RA situation, which could be achieved through the rigorous study of the subjectivity, phenomenological and in depth of the subjects that live the classification, leading the researchers to be questioned as, What are the social characteristics of the students, according to their academic performance in five educational institutions in the municipality of Popayán - Cauca? and in that his answer allow identify and describe factors and characteristics of the students according to their classification, defining risks and potentialities in its structures human and social

Methodology

The RA is a demonstrable phenomenon, as objective and able to be listed in the range of grades, a situation that allows the collection of information by the student's academic average and allows its classification into four levels that are, lower or failure, described by an average between 1 and 2, with loss of subject or grade. Low, identified between 2 to 3 but with recovery and approval of subjects and promotion. Well, referenced between 3 to 4 and high between 4 to 5. (Hernández S. Fernández C. and Baptista L. 1997). It should be explained that although the classification of the population is necessary, this is not the objective of the investigation, in as much what is looked for is the description of social characteristics, that the students possess, for it is necessary the integration of a methodology qualitative, able to create knowledge with descriptive depth, product of the analysis of real subjective experiences and expressed by students who live the classification. Allowing to discover the phenomenology of the fact, through the application of information gathering devices that privilege the narration and communication of thoughts, ideas and considerations that individuals have.

Therefore research was developed with the principles of qualitative methodology and the use of phenomenological research models, (Sautu, 2003 in Cuenya Lucas, Ruetti Eliana, 2010), where the validity of knowledge he It

achieves by carrying out a refined and rigorous research, in the choice of the students according to their classification and the capture of the information that depends on their level of performance and with the use of spaces in natural contexts and those of students who experience the phenomenon. The information has been treated with the strategy of content analysis, to achieve maximum recovery of the subject's language and voice, capturing with greater validity the subjectivity of the participants, (Trabasso and Van den Broek, 1985 in Corredor Aristizabal J. 2010). Languages and discourses that are found through the meticulousness of the collection, passing to the analysis and transformation of categories, which comply with high levels of information saturation and allow to obtain deductions and differentiations of the phenomenon, the subjects and the classifications. (Anguera, 2010, Piñuel RJ 2002).

For the collection of information, in-depth interview devices have been used, with a program of open-ended guiding questions, which have been defined according to categories of analysis identified by the literature on the subject and for the time of application have been used tools for information storage such as, notebooks and voice and video recorders, the organization for the development of the devices was organized according to classification of RA (2), the treatment of the information consisted in the detailed analysis, in the definition of sentence by sentence, segmentation, (Hostile 1969 in Abela J. 2008). Each segmented sentence is integrated into a category according to criteria of semantic meaning, identity and intentionality, thus allowing its coding.

This coding is given a name and new information is integrated, which leads to a higher level of information saturation. Hostile (1969 in Abela, 2008).

Each category is revised, according to sentence and frequency of appearance, taking care, if not said by the same subject several times, in this revision of frequency to the sentence, it is granted an enumeration allowing to obtain a quantitative valuation and the demonstration by accumulation of sentences in a certain category. (Laurence Bardin, 1996) achieving analysis of presence, frequency, frequency of weight, intensity and contingency, objective condition that is complemented with discourses and qualitative and descriptive evaluations (Piñuel, 2002). The treatment of information with systematic rigor and the achievement of categorization, allows to obtain results descriptive of the investigation, which can be analyzed and from them obtain inferences, deduc-

tions and conclusions. (Hernández S., Fernández C. and Baptista L. 1997 ; Anguera M. 2010).

Population

It was counted with the participation of the educational institution Liceo Bello Horizonte, Carlos M. Simmons, Normal Superior of Popayán, Mother Laura School and Francisco de Paula Santander School. Where we work for F1, with 1662 academic averages belonging to the total number of students from grade 6 to 11 and for the identification of social factors, 1168 students were voluntarily linked.

Results

Through the process of information analysis, categorization and saturation, the following results have been obtained. In the F1, of RA it was found that in a lower level 10.52% of the population is located, in low 3%, in good 73.10% and in outstanding 13.35%. Identifying gender differences in which the relationship between RA and only female students and RA with male only was used for the analysis. Finding that at the lower level 13.91% of the students are 7.64% boys and 7.64% girls, under 3.76% are boys and 2.35% girls, in good, 72.33% are male and 73.76% female and in outstanding 10% are boys and 16.25% girls.

According to their age and RA, it is found that between the ages of 10 and 13 years, 4.81% of the total population is located at the bottom, at low 1.56%, good at 35.67% and outstanding at 8.24% and at ages of 14 to 17 years, in lower are 5.47%, in low the 1.44%, in good the 36.22% and in outstanding the 4.87%. And between 18 and 19 years old, at the bottom 0.24%, at low there are no classified students, in good is 1.20% and in outstanding the 0.24%.

In which according to their classification, students name the following characteristics, regarding the family factor, students are described according to the number of family members, with two members, in lower they comment it 4.8%, in good 9.4% and in outstanding 6%. With three and five members, lower students describe it 60.3%, under 61.5%, good 55% and outstanding 73%. With 6 and 8 members, they comment in lower 22.2%, under 38.5%, in good 21% and outstanding 12%, and with 9 or more members, in lower 6.3%, in good 7.3% and in outstanding 5.2%, commenting it in the following way, "2 people", "I live with my mom", "I live with my mom because my dad left", "I live

alone with my grandmother", "humnn we are 5 ", " We are 4 ", " we live 6 in the house ", " 7 ", " 6 people ", " we are six I do not know the age of any I have two younger brothers and one older one "; "We are 9", "we live like 10 in that house" "hummm we are quite like 11", (...).

Regarding the schooling of parents, father with primary in lower classification is commented on 12.7%, under 38.4%, good at 16%, and outstanding at 8%, "My dad made up to 3", "my dad even as fifth", "primary", "my dad got to the 4th grade". Mother with primary in lower 19%, in low 15.3%, in good 14% and in outstanding 5.2%, thus, "primary", "my mother up to 3 did it as three times", "my mother up to fourth or fifth. " Father with baccalaureate, in lower 15.9%, in low 30.7%, in good 20.7% and in outstanding 24% and in the mother, in lower 44.4%, in low 38.4%, in good 12.5% and in outstanding, 26.7%, "my parents finished until the bachelor", "and I arrive until eleven", "both are high school graduates", "my dad baccalaureate ", " high school ", " mom up to eleven "; "Both up to eleven", (...). With technical schooling in the father, in inferior 3.2%, in good 6.3% and in outstanding 5.2%, in the mother it appears in inferior 6.3% and in good 8%, thus, "the two have hairdressing course", "my dad graduated from the Seine", "technical", "has a tailor's course". With undergraduate in the father, in the lower level 4.8%, in low 15.3%, in good 6.3% and in outstanding is 11.5% and in the mother in lower 9.5%, in low 15.3%, in good the 10.6% and outstanding 8.6%, described as follows, "both are university students", "higher education", "dad is a professor of physical education", "university", "professional", "university students, mom is a specialist in gerontology", "Mom was in college", "my mom is still studying but bone nursing that finished the whole baccalaureate", "university, masters", "my mom studied systems engineering and right now is studying a pedagogy" (...). And without schooling, the father bass is 1.6% and in good 2.3%, and the mother in good is 8.5%, "My dad did not study", "my mom was not given the study" (...)

With accompaniment of parents in the delivery of newsletters, in students of inferior they name it the 31.6% of the population, in under 61.5%, in good 32.6% and in outstanding 31.9%, expressed thus, "Yes, every time my mom comes for the newsletter", "yes, my dad is in the newsletter", "of course they pick up my newsletter", "my mom usually calls the rector or if my older sister does not come", (...) To school counseling, schools of parents or pedagogical meetings, in the lower they name it 47.6%, in low 69.2%, in good 38.7% and in outstanding 70.2%, expressed thus, "my parents if they attend and are pending

of everything, my notes and everything ", " go to the meetings and ask for everything ", " sometimes they come to ask for me with the teachers ", " if they attend events and meetings that the school teachers give notice ", (...). And accompaniment to homework, rehearsal or realization of projects, in lower 98% of the students it names that the Accompaniment is not carried out, expressing itself like this, "they do not help me", "me neither", "I do them alone", "not because they work", "mmm in my house nobody helps me" (...). And those who comment having assistance and support by family members in under 14% of the cases, in good 29% and in outstanding 56.1%, described as such, "yes, my dad"; "To my sister or the teacher if there is time", "in my house if they help me to do homework, my dad helps me in some subjects, my mom some subjects, my cousin some subjects", "my sister more than anything because my parents do not have any study, they help me by explaining or giving me ideas ", " I do it with my mom ", "If my mom also helps me," (...).

With perception of affective family climate, in lower 20.8% of discourses, in under 30%, in good 38% and in outstanding 54%, thus, "in my house we all do not get along very well", "they are amorosos ", " they are friendly and affectionate "and in negative, in lower 34.9% comment, in low 25%, in good 24% and in outstanding 4.2%, commenting like this," my mom sometimes prefers me older sister ", " to me as nobody loves me much and rather they make me the ugly ", " they reject me when they leave me alone a lot of time with my grandmother ", " my parents do not love me, because they scold me a lot ", "My family always rejects me", "I'm always getting in my face what I do and I do not do", "I do not care anymore if they scold me or not, even everything I do will always be wrong", "they reject me because I'm not what they want that is ", " my parents are only interested in getting good grades, but not me ", " I believe that my parents do not want me they spend studio just because it's more important, not because it's born ", " sometimes it's my turn to lock myself in the room, because my brothers bother me a lot "(...).

And those who think that family communication is null, in inferior is 10.8%, in low it names it 9.6% and in good it is described by 1.2% of the students, thus, "my parents sometimes do not even speak, especially my dad who does not talk to anyone because he has another woman ", " there is no communication, they are cold ", " in my house they are not very communicative, everyone lives in their world ", (...) Those that describe neglect and affective neglect like

this, in inferior the 21.6%, in under 15.3%, in good the 2.2% and in outstanding the 2%, like this, "if I stay alone almost all the time", "if I stay alone all the time", "even my parents do not care about me", "I can even die that they do not even notice", (...)

With partner conflicts, under 17.6%, in good 3% and in outstanding 0.5%, well, "my dad when he has taken hit my mom ", "mom shouts all over to dad ", "my mom demands my dad but he does not pay attention to her and they start fighting ", "mama fights for everything and my dad does not have patience ", "my dad is late and they start fighting because my mom says that my dad was where the other ", "sometimes my parents fight that I do not like "(...).

In the guidelines of upbringing, are described with physical punishment, in lower 9%, in low 15.3%, in good 4.2%, expressed thus, "my parents do not want me they hit me a lot", "my dad knows I scream at my mother or brothers, she knocks me down ", "my mom, she hits me horrible or she does not let me leave ", "they hit me ", "they are quite violent ". With psychological punishment, the lower is named by 100% of students, in under 30.7%, in good 28.2%, well, "sometimes they shout at me and tell me that I am very rough", "on Sundays because they always scold me because I do not do homework ", "when I get scolded, every two hours ", "they punish me by not letting me out for a week ", "if they punish me, I do not care ", "they scold me and they make me do a whole week's work ", "they take away the internet ", (...).

With permissive attitudes in lower names 3.2%, under 7.6%, good 11.1% and outstanding 10.5%, so, "let me do what I want", "I do not say anything always threaten and they do not comply ", "they do not punish me ", (...).

Students mention how they think they are perceived by their family members, in a positive way, in a lower the 32.5%, good at 23.6% and outstanding at 41.9%, referenced thus, "my mom says I'm smart", "my mom is happy because I'm a good student", "my parents always tell me I'm their pride", (...) With negative perception, in lower 22.7%, in low 23.1%, in good 24.3% and in outstanding 14.3%, describing it this way, "they never tell me, they always scold me nothing more", "they say that I do not serve for nothing, "" I'm a brute ", "my parents always scold me because they say I should be better ", "they do not trust me and what I do well ", "they know I'm going to disappoint them ", "Everything I do is wrong for my dad" (...).

Where the emotions of the students are related to family and school conditions, commenting that they feel happy, in lower 4.8%, in low 7.6%, in good 21% and in outstanding 35%, "I feel very happy and calm", "I consider myself a very good person and that makes me happy", "and that's why I feel very happy", "very happy", "that gives me great joy, (...). The origin of this joy, for the 21% of students are, "The notes", "for a note", and for him 11.2% of the population is when they are emotionally reinforced by their family members, "when they congratulate me," "when they tell me they love me," "when I'm with my family," "when my dad says I'm a good student," (...) They feel sad, in lower 24.8% of the cases, in under 38%, in good 4.3% and in outstanding 2%, thus, "sad", "I always want to cry", "I do not want to do anything or that people talk to me and I walk away", (...).

The origin, is abandonment and loneliness in the 27.2 % of cases like this, "because my parents work a lot and I do not see them at lunch", "sometimes I feel very lonely and I feel like crying", "I'm always alone". By conditions relatives in 27% of the cases, "when I'm very sad especially when I remember that I do not live with my dad and I'm alone, my mom realizes", "I remember that my parents fought years ago and I wanted to leave of the house", "when my parents separated". By notes in the 10.2 % of the cases, "when I get a bad note", (...).

They feel anger, in inferior 15.9%, in good 4.3% and in outstanding 0.5%, well, "I have a lot of anger because nothing works out for me", "because I do not like to get into my things and that's why I get rage with others", "I get angry and I tear my hair", "I get brave and poke notebooks", "I like to chuce things, throw them on the floor and step on them" (...). The origin of the rage, is in 27% of the cases is by family characteristics, "my parents scold me every time and that makes me angry", "it makes me angry that my parents do not care about me", "that I always have to do things alone in my house", in 5% of the cases they comment that it is due to negligence and abandonment, thus, "in my house when I arrive they do not leave me food", "it is that I arrive and I do not they leave food", "because nobody is in the house and I have to stay alone", (...) and also they report not expressing emotions in low in 38.4% of cases, in good 15.4% and in outstanding 6.2%.

They also report that there are parents who motivate their children towards school processes, in a lower one they describe 74%, in under 69%, in good 79% and 98.5% in outstanding, well, "they tell me that I must be a good professional to put batteries", "they are always motivating me and supporting me", "they always tell me that if I do not study I will go wrong in the life ", " in my house they advise me that I must make an effort to get ahead, to be an important person and my mother and grandmother support me "(...). Y those who motivate to work activities, in low does 23% and in good 2.4%, well, "my dad tells me that I have to help at home, working in the hardware store helping him to sell", "to me, my Dad tells me that if I continue like this he will take me to the farm to get coffee and in the harvest he will take me and I will have to go ", " I work as a staff in the Popayán municipal theater ", " I help my mother work in the gallery of beautiful horizon ", " I work with my dad fixing bicycles and I win a talk "(...).

In some cases they explain that their greater motivation to school and study is caused by family pressure and the tendency to avoid punishments like this, in 82.5% lower, 34.4% in good and in outstanding 2%, expressing, "If I care because if I do wrong, they punish me", "Yes, because if I do badly, they scold me", "I study, because if they do not put me to work", "I go to school, why not I can stand my mom ", (...).

Regarding the factor denominated as school, the perception of the students according to the infrastructure is described in a positive way, in lower 28.2%, in good 18.8% and in outstanding 42.4% as well, "I love the spaces it has", "because one has enough space to pick up", "because you can have a good space for one as a student", "The plant is good", "is very beautiful", negatively at lower 63.1%, at low 40%, good at 13.8% and outstanding at 7%, thus expressing, "we do not have books bone anything of libraries ", " but they should put windows in the living rooms ", " the physical floor, because it lacks a lot ", " it is very hot ", " there are leaks ", " I do not like the living room because it is ugly ", " much cold ", " I think the rooms look like a very lonely classroom, very wide, it looks like a prison, only windows and 2 little windows that do not "(...).

Regarding the perception of the school climate in a positive way, the lower one names it 67%, in low 40%, in good 39% and in outstanding 20.9%, expressed thus, "it has a good atmosphere", "it is a very welcoming school ", " the school environment is fine no problem, nothing happens ", " it is good and there

is a lot of discipline ", but perceive negatively, at lower 20.6%, good 12.4% and outstanding 16.8%, naming themselves, "there is a very bad atmosphere, because they bother about everything", "there are people who make a bad environment", "the atmosphere in the school is more or less because they do not do anything for us", "besides not I'm not interested in anything at school because it's so boring ", "I do not like the daily routine "(...).

In positive condition towards the administrative, in lower 17%, in low 30%, in good 49% and in outstanding 47%, well, "they care about the students", "I think they worry that we do well in school ", "we do not have problems as an institution ", "as well as she and therefore the good director and the regular coordinator ", "because it is very good because they are aware of the most important problems of the institution", (...). With negative perception they are in 48% lower, in good 25.9% and in outstanding is 1.9%, thus, "Sometimes they make mistakes", "sometimes they do not care much", "in the matter of the institution they are fresh", "little interest in our needs", "rector is almost not in school" (...). With the teachers, the positive perception, in lower is of 12%, in low of 50%, in good of 61% and in outstanding 58%, expressing this way, "with teachers who are good people", "they are good at their job", "they are good people", "I like how teachers teach me", "I have learned to be a better person through teachers", (...). With negative perception, in 37.4% inferior, 23.5% in good and 8% in excellent, well, "those cuchos sometimes only is to fuck one who is mounted", "that lady of Spanish annoys a lot and is always typing one ", "I think there are preferences in the room because they only prefer the most judicious ", "I think there are differences in the room with the smartest and the most gross because the good ones have a good concept and because they are intelligent and those who do not even want to take them into account "(...).

And the student believes is perceived positively by the teachers, lower the 33.9%, 37.7% in low, at 47% good and 67% outstanding as well, "the teacher always tells me I can ", "the teacher tells me that I have many abilities ", "I am the representative of my room because my teacher says I am the best "(...). For their peers, good at 1% and outstanding at 3%, well, "I am friendly and my friends love me", "my friends are the only ones who support me", "my colleagues like me to represent them", (...). But with negative consideration for teachers in inferior the 53.3%, in low 45.4%, in good 20% and in outstanding 1%, explaining it like this, "they are tired, assemblers", "they are always scold-

ing, they tell me that I am lazy", "I never they say nothing, they do not care "," they are always scolding me "," that teacher has it on me "," they only see the negative "," they are always brave and they scold me a lot "(...). For his companions, in under 15.4%, in good 2% and in outstanding 1%, expressed thus, "they make fun of me, they say that I am rough", "I do not like to work with anyone because they speak ill of me "," I do not like talking to them because they are hypocrites "," they speak bad things about me ", (...).

Regarding the discipline in the classroom is said to be negative, in lower 7.1% of cases and outstanding 14%, well, "is heavy because they bother a lot", "are very rarely those that I concentrate in class but It is because of the same noise, of my partner that the past of papers and that and then I do the same "," the noise of the students on the side deconcentrate me a lot and then I talk to my other partner as long as the teacher do not realize "," it is tiresome when some colleagues begin to talk and talk "," is that sometimes my colleagues if you talk a lot or participate a lot in class, they make fun of you and that is tiresome "(...).

And there are those who express that there is psychological intimidation in the classroom, in the lower 46.3% of the students, in under 23% and in outstanding 10%, expressing themselves, "because there are pelados that have me mounted "," They reject me because I walk alone my classmates ignore me and do not love me "," some of my classmates make me ugly "," they reject me when they do not want to do work with me "," my classmates make fun of me, because sometimes I do not understand "," until now I can not adapt to the room because my classmates bother me a lot "," for some classmates who insult me very often I do not like "," sometimes they reject me and that's why I do not want to go to school ", (...).

They describe that teachers have adequate learning strategies, in lower 30.3% comments, 46.5% in good and 55.1% in good, so, "because teachers explain themselves well", "teachers are good because they use good techniques to teach us "," biology is a very cool teacher "," good in a positive and loving way "," the teaching of the teachers seems very good "(...). And those who think that it is inadequate in inferior 54.9%, in good 20% and in outstanding is 23%, expressed thus, "It does not explain well", "some use very boring techniques", "the most bad are the natural science classes, because that lady lulls you", "I do not like Spanish, it does not explain well", "it gives me Lazy to come to school because I do not like the classes only one is that it makes me very sleepy "," would be

more cool if they put us do more things in the classes so that we would not be sleepy ", less to the teacher (...) and to the teacher (...), because they do not express themselves well and speak very softly they are English and biology but in the others if I can concentrate ", sometimes in a class that dictates us very fast as social ", (...).

In the socioeconomic factor, it was found that students described being in strata one, in good the 23.6% and 10.9% outstanding, well, "I am stratum 1", "I am stratum 1" (...). In stratum two, in lower 7.6% of the population, in good 44.2% and in outstanding 23.9%, thus, "2" "stratum 2". In stratum three, 61.5% are described as inferior, 35% as good and 33.9% as outstanding, thus, "3", "3", (...). In stratum four, 2% are mastered, 1.6% are good, and 20% are outstanding, thus, "4", "4", (...).

The working conditions are named, of the parents, with father with independent work, in inferior 55%, in good 34.5%, and in outstanding 35.6%, "my dad works with merchandise", "my dad is official of work ", "My dad is a coterio ", "my dad builder ", "my dad works in several jobs ", "my dad works in a workshop ", "my dad is a systems engineer ", "independent ", (...). In public companies, as a military professional, at 5.8%, well, "my dad is a policeman", "my dad is a military man" and in the official sector, at 8.6%, in good 6.5% and in outstanding 7.2%, like this, "my dad is a contractor", "he works in the aqueduct"; "Works in the courts", "my dad is a social teacher in a school of cajibío", in private companies, they describe in good the 8.9% and in outstanding the 4.1%, like this, "bavaria", "selling products of alpina" ", "My dad in a telecommunications company ", "my dad works in empaques del Cauca, "" my dad guard ", "he works in a bank ", "my dad works in alkanes as commercial advisor ", (...).

Regarding the mother, the students comment that they are housewives, in lower 30.7%, in good 18.5% and in outstanding 28.6%, expressing thus, "my mom loves house", "my mom is a housewife ", With independent work in lower 15.3%, in good 17.4% and in outstanding 12.5%, "my mother works in the avon magazine ", "my mom works independently ", "my mom sells arepas ", "well my family has a family business ", "dressmaking "" hairdressing ". In public companies, in inferior 7.6%, good 5.8% and outstanding 10.9%, well, "my mom is a commissioner has money", "mom, cardboard Colombia", "teacher", "my

mom is treasurer of a mayor in a village, a municipality, "" my mother is a community mother, "" and my mother works as a secretary in the mayor's office "and in private companies are in 7.3%, in good 2.2% and in outstanding 1.5%, like this, "my mom works where a university doctora", "my mom works in a local of totto", "my mom in a funeral home", "in a supermarket", "in carantanta" "mom secretary of environmental management", "Cashier", "watchman", (...). And there are also those who report that parents do not have a job, at 3.5% lower and in good 2.3%, like this, "my dad does not have work for now"; "Now he is in the house and he does not do anything", "Papa, vet, but he does not work" (...).

Conclusions

The qualitative methodology and the content analysis are adequate strategies in the identification of characteristics and subjectivities that students have according to their RA Allowing to link relationships between personal and social characteristics and their level of classification, generating deductions about the risk factors and the potential conditions that could lead to the development of low or high performance students. However, it should be understood that the results allow coherent but not conclusive relationships, needing to continue structuring research methods that allow greater accuracy in these relationships, this does not mean that the results have not been validated, on the contrary, they are able to define characteristics, perceptions and conditions among students and their relationship with each of the classifications, which are explained as follows.

It is specified that the RA is a phenomenon of complex nature and characteristic, that presents an objective dimension, since it is a fact of quantitative - numerical and qualitative - subjective characteristics, the last two are crossed with personal and social factors, intervening, in a condition of deficiency or resource in the structuring of learning, the schooling fact and the evaluative functions. It is precisely in the integration of all these elements that the RA phenomenon results, hence the need to understand and reflect on each one of these factors and to assess the potential of the phenomenon.

Likewise, it has been found that the contents and characteristic frequencies of the factors are different depending on the level of classification, in which if for one level the accumulation of frequencies proves to be a resource that en-

ables learning for another, it is a deficiency that worsens the school event, a situation that is demonstrated in the following differentiations.

Of the F1, denominated RA it is concluded that there is more frequency of children in lower and lower levels than girls, differing in 7% of the amount, similar situation is presented in low. Only in good RA seems to be the balance balanced with a difference of 1% that favors the female gender, but in outstanding girls are the ones who are located at this level with a difference of 8% of the population, it is clarified that in all the levels there is presence of both genders. Regarding age, it is concluded that there are no significant comparative differences, since the lower level, the difference is of 1% in population between the ages of 10 to 13 years relative to those of 14 to 17, the latter is which favors the frequency. For the level of low the difference is 0.1% and for good the difference again is 1%, only in outstanding the frequencies are accumulated by 4% in favor of students between 10 to 13 years. Concluding that between the different ages there are no significant differences in the change of RA

In the family factor, features such as number of members named in the family structure and, two members of the population is 10% and is more frequent for the students good. Those who have between three and five members in their families, do not exceed 73% of the total of students and where the largest population are students of higher classification, those of lower, show a reduced difference by almost 10%. With six and eight members, they name it more frequently in lower and lower than those in the standout, differing in almost 35% of cases. And with more than nine members, is common in 6.3% of the cases in the lower level and in the higher level in 5.2% of the cases.

Another feature named are the forms of accompaniment and participation of parents in school processes, naming as assistance and accompaniment to the delivery of newsletters in almost 35% of parents. However, students change their speeches when commenting on accompanying parents or relatives before homework or school projects, where the students of inferior named almost never accompany explaining in 98% of cases, a situation that is different in outstanding where the accompaniment to tasks is appointed by 56.1% of cases.

Also they accompany speeches characteristics regarding family dynamics, as is the perception of a positive emotional climate, naming him in less than the

21% of students and outstanding by 54% and negative perception, on the lower they name 34.9 % and in outstanding the 4.2%, this means, that the affective and pleasant atmosphere of the familiar systems is common in the students of high classification that the ones of low and inferior. Is named the consideration of the students who specify that in their families there is no communication or affective interaction, in the students in the bottom it comments almost 10.8%, in low 9.6%, but in good the situation changes when having the perception 1.2% of the students, there are also the comments of feeling abandoned and alone, in 21.6% of the students in the lower classification and in the outstanding by 2.2%, differing in almost 20%, being a negative reference for the first population.

In spite of this it is good to identify that there is a high frequency of parents who motivate their children to continue with their school procedures, the only difficulty is that this motivation is more verbal than fact, it is more advice, talk or of scolding that of help and support in tasks, investigations, revision of notebooks, among others.

In the school factor it is identified that the students, according to their level of academic performance, perceive the institutional physical structure. Positively defined, outstanding in 42.45% of cases and good in 28.2%, differing in almost 15% perception. There are also those who describe that the school climate is positive, at the bottom it is 67% of the students, but it differs from the outstanding, which discriminate with a greater number of speeches than the structure is pleasant, but do not support the idea that the school climate is positive, naming it in 20.9% of students. Similar frequency of percentages and speeches are those that describe a negative school climate, where for lower is 20.6% and outstanding is 6.8%, differing by almost 13%.

Likewise, the school climate perception approach in a positive way towards the actors of the educational community, such as the administrative and its management in outstanding with 47% and in 17% inferior in the cases, towards the teachers in inferior is of the 12% and outstanding is 58% and those who think about a negative school climate, the balance changes placing a large number of speeches for students in lower 37.4% than in outstanding, naming it 8% of students. Therefore it is identified that the positive or negative perception of administrative and teaching staff is named depending on the level of RA in

which the students are located. This situation is similar also in the perception of the learning strategies used by teachers.

Regarding the classroom conditions, with negative reference they describe it in inferior 7% and in outstanding 14%, informing that in the courses there is indiscipline, noise, noise and are not appropriate spaces to learn, likewise they explain that there is bullying of psychological type, being a common condition in inferior in 46.3% in difference of the outstanding one that names it 10%, showing that it is more common the process of harassment and intimidation in the students of lower level than in the other levels.

And regarding the socioeconomic, it is described that in stratum one there is a percentage of almost 34% of students, of which there is a higher frequency of students in good and excellent classification. In stratum two, students of good and outstanding levels are linked, in a total of 68% of the cases and where for the lower the population is 7.6%. In stratum three it is reported that the students of inferior are almost 62% and in outstanding of 34%, differing in almost 32% and in stratum four there is a greater number of outstanding population being 20% of students, in difference of the lower that is 2% and good of 1.6%. It is identified in this way, that there are students in good and outstanding, in strata one and two and that the vast majority of students who are in lower classes are in stratum three, however there is a greater population of students in stratum four.

Regarding the industriousness of the parents are described, that for the largest population of students in inferior, their parents work independently being common for 55% of the cases in inferior in difference of good that is of 34.5% and outstanding that is of 35.6% and where for the last two classifications it is more common to find the father working in public and private companies. It is interesting to note that at all levels of academic performance, there are mothers with industriousness of a housewife, for the lower one it is 30.7 % but it differs in good that it is 18.5% and in outstanding 28.6%, that they work independently in a common average of almost 15% for all levels and in public companies and officers is common for the outstanding level in almost 11% of cases, which in inferior or good. In private, it is more common for lower levels on one 7.3% in outstanding which is 1.5%. It is concluded that at the lower level, the parents in the vast majority of cases work independently and the

mother is a housewife and outstanding, the father works in the public or private sector in most cases and the mother is often housewife, independent or be in the public sector.

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African American Population: About the economic Status

Eduardo R. Polo

Abstract *The author examines various perspectives on racial and ethnic identity and proposes a model of thinking about identity aimed at capturing both the oppressive and facilitating nature of identity. To further elaborate the dual nature of identity, he discusses how the inequalities of the social world, and the ideologies that sustain them, produce narcissistic wounds that are consciously and unconsciously put to work by both the patient and the therapist. Several of these are presented in a summary of the author's work with an Asian-American patient during which he began to recognize unconscious racial and cultural prejudices in the way he had considered certain "basic principles" of psychoanalytic practice: dependence, independence, happiness and love.*

Keywords: Economic status, American population, African population

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What do we mean when we talk about racial or ethnic identities? Are we referring to coherent, socially constructed and inherently oppressive categories, as many theorists claim? Dalal (2002), for example, argues that racism precedes the concept of race and Rustin (1991) states that "'Race' is both an empty category and one of the most destructive and powerful forms of social categorization" (p.57). Cultural critics Lacanians they often argue that coherent identities are oppressive fictions, and Morgan (2002) cites the DNA evidence to affirm that "the term 'race' is an idea constructed without an objective biological basis" (p.567). Or, as those who consider "identity" to be less prob-

lematic (eg. Volkan 2004), discuss is it in human nature the need for a large group identity and to form that identity by creating a us-them division?

Or, as the multiculturalists Liberals, are ethnic and racial identities simply based on cultural and / or biological differences not necessarily built on the repudiation of what is different from one, differences that should be celebrated rather than denigrated? Do we understand ethnic and racial differences as sensible (liberal and conservative model) or as interrelated and interlinked? (post-structuralist model)? More specifically, do we think that identities other than white and Protestant have been constructed in reference to the dominant qualities of being white and Protestant? And, therefore, those in subordinate positions create hierarchical relations among themselves, marked in some way by white domination (Friedman, 1995; Gooding-Williams, 1993; Layton, 1998)?

If we believe the latter, how do we understand such relationships psychologically? In terms of perpetrators and victims? Do we focus, then, politically on rectifying long histories of systematic prejudice and discrimination? Or, as those who do not pay attention to color affirm, racial and ethnic identities rest on cultural and / or biological differences that should be ignored, not taken into account when hiring someone or admitting them to a university? Finally, does it make sense to talk about racial identities without talking simultaneously about how they intersect with class, gender and other identity categories (RM Williams, 1997)? In other words, can we assume that a racial identity is homogeneous, that blacks and whites of any class and gender feel race in the same way?

Obviously, thinking about racial and ethnic identities requires that we first think of identity tout court. Currently, there are numerous theories that refute the definition of identity, and the effort to define identity and race is, ultimately, a political issue whose result has important social consequences (which is obvious when we think of political differences derived from liberal ideology, eg affirmative action versus ideology that ignores the color of the skin).

In a previous work (Layton, 1998), I proposed a model for thinking about gender identity that I thought could explain both the narcissistic wounds caused by a sexist culture and the kind of gender-related experiences that make us feel good as men., women, or any intermediate degree. I called it negotiation model because I wanted to capture the way in which we constantly negotiate gender identity, both from what Benjamin (1988) and others call relationships of subject-object as from mutuality relations. In part, I wrote "against" post-modern theories and lacanian that suggest that identity categories are neces-

sarily coercive and oppressive, that there is no healthy version of gender or racial identity (see, for example, several essays in Appiah Y Gates, 1995; Butler, 1990; George, 2001; Haraway, 1985; several trials in Lane, 1998; Mitchelly Rose, 1985; Riley, 1988).

At the same time, I wanted to give the coercive aspect of identities the recognition it deserves, since all too often psychoanalytic theory ignores the psychic effects of the hierarchies of power in which we live. The negotiation model explains psychologically the defensive and regressive use of identity categories (see Dimen, 2003; Goldner, 1991; May, 1986) as well as the progressive use of the identity categories (for example in the efforts towards liberation and in the resilience manifested by oppressed groups despite the horrible projections to which they are subjected).

In order to better understand the regressive and exclusive use of identity categories, I have developed a concept to which I refer as unconscious normative processes (Layton, 2002, 2004^a, 2004b, 2005, 2006). With this term, I refer to the psychological consequences of living in a culture in which norms serve the ideologically dominant purpose of maintaining a status quo of power (1). More specifically, I have investigated the consequences of living within certain hierarchies of class, race, sex and gender. My assumption is that these hierarchies, which confer power and exist for the benefit of those who have the same, not only tend to idealize certain positions of the subject and devalue others, but also tend to do so by dividing human capacities and attributes and granting them assignments of class or race.

These assignments cause narcissistic wounds that organize the desire to belong to one group instead of another. These wounds end up living as identities of class, race, gender and sex. In *Who's that girl? Who's that boy?* (Layton, 1998), for example, I argued that gender inequality creates two distinct subversions of narcissism in men and women. I understand (based on Kohut, 1971, 1977; Kernberg, 1975; and, especially, in Fairbairn 1954 and Guntrip, 1971, which refer to the syndrome as schizoid) that narcissism is a bipolar disorder in which the self is fragile, wounded by traumatic failures in care, oscillate between self-deprecation and grandiosity, the idealization of the other and denigration, the desires of fusion and the needs of radically distancing the self from the others (Layton, unpublished).

Like Benjamin (1988), Chodorow (1978) and other feminist theorists have written, during a long period of capitalist-patriarchal history, the

dominant norms of middle-class masculinity idealized a form of autonomy that arises from the split of dependence, vulnerability and involvement in relations. This form of autonomy values the domination over the external and internal nature and rejects, thus, the relationship with nature I-you. This assessment produces a dominant ideal that begins with one half of the narcissistic polarities: grandiosity, denigration of the other and avoidance of the intimate connection. This does not mean that the other half is not present in those who live this dominant ideal, but that the ideal is to be omnipotent and not need the other. The dominant norms of femininity, at least before the feminist "revolution", idealized the other narcissistic polarity: self-contempt, the idealization of the other ("you are perfect and I am part of you" [Kohut, 1971, p.. 25]) and wishes to merge " (2).

These coercive norms form the crucible in which we become feminine or masculine, no matter where we place ourselves in the social space (Layton, 1998). These norms are not only norms of gender, but also of race and class. White working-class women and middle-class black women grow up with special rules for their social location, but, as they have made clear Bourdieu (1984) and other social theorists, the social location does not exist without reference to all the others, and all create their own identities adopting some affective and cognitive position towards the dominant cultural ideals. Power hierarchies create and maintain differences that determine what is high and low, good and bad, pure and impure, and there is certainly a general tendency in those who do not have the power for internalize the denigrating attributions that reach them (see Dalal, 2002; Moss, 2003; White, 2002).

However, it would be a mistake to think that the rules internalize without conflict (Layton, 1998, 2004a). Since hierarchies divide and categorize human attributes and capabilities, we find in the clinic and in our lives an incessant conflict between the unconscious processes that seek to maintain those splits and those that reject them. Those who seek to maintain the splits are those that I call unconscious normative processes.

The unconscious normative processes refer to that aspect of the unconscious that pushes to repeat the patterns of affect / behavior / cognition that maintain social norms and that cause psychic distress in the first place. The enactments take place when the therapist is unconsciously pushed by the same norms that push the patient, or when the therapist is moved by destructive norms. Such enactments are more easily unraveled if we are aware of these rules and how they operate. Let's go back to the example of gender, in which we find the cultural mandate to separate the capacities of connection and de-

pendence from the capacities of being subject and independent agent, and to attribute to the first gender female and the second ones the male. This mandate causes the symptoms we are dealing with: for example, it can and has made women feel "unfeminine" and harmful to others when pursuing their own interests, and that men feel "feminine" when they cry or express vulnerability. The alignment of, for example, femininity with dependency can be made conscious (the feminist movement succeeded). When it comes to impacting social hierarchies, however, the unconscious and conflictive comes from the way in which non-egalitarian norms of a culture or subculture constitute psychologically (and executively through constant repetition) dependence and independence. In the culture of the United States, for example, the hierarchies of sex, gender, class and race produce a great variety of social norms and ideologies that require separating dependence from independence and the repudiation / devaluation of the dependence required by the dominant mode of enactment of autonomy. Patients tend not to know that what they suffer for is the way they have separated the two, why it's so hard to feel like a man when you feel vulnerable, why it is so difficult to simultaneously achieve a feeling of competence and a feeling of connection.

My concept of unconscious normative processes differs from other perspectives on the social unconscious in a relevant way. Dalal (2002) for example, distinguishes the repressed from the hidden evaluations of people and things that we inherited when learning our language and its categories:

In contrast to the repressed... what is so powerful and perhaps insidious about these "evaluations" hidden "that are implicit, is that they slip into the psyche without resistance... These hidden evaluations are nothing more than the social unconscious. [p. 130, italics in the original]

In my opinion, these evaluations do not slip into the psyche without resistance, in fact the family and cultural transmission of racial, as well as class, sex and gender evaluations is often highly conflictive, precisely why These categories are a product of separating human capabilities and needs. Our relational world is at least partly the terrain of all our internalizations conflicting of the antagonisms of class, race, gender and sex that structure society, internalizations that cause neurotic suffering.

Unconscious normative processes, therefore, are one of the psychic forces that strive to consolidate the type of "correct" identity and to obfuscate the workings of unequal power hierarchies. They protect the psychic splits that cultural norms impose and they do so because the risk of debating them

leads to loss of love and social approval. But let's not forget that the result of the split is to keep the split close. Compulsions to repetition are the place where the struggle between unconscious coercive normative processes and unconscious processes contrary to the norm is enacted. And since all identities are relational and not individual possessions (in Dalal's words) "Who I am" really boils down to "where I belong" [2002, p. 187]), these repetitions are awakened and recreated in relationships.

In the clinic, then, we are likely to find the patient and analyst continually engaging in enacting unconscious normative processes. The concept of unconscious normative processes usefully demonstrates the inextricable link between the psychic and the social: the regimes of power that define the relations between genders, between races and classes, and between those with different sexual desires condition the way we live dependency and independence, separation and individuation, affects such as shame and a large number of other psychoanalytic basic components that are not usually thought in social terms.

Race and ethnic identity: psychoanalytic perspectives

The psychoanalytic perspectives of race differ depending on how a school (or a theorist) formulates its theory of aggression and what constitutes the self-other relationship (3). Dalal (2001) conducted a study of the psychoanalytic clinical literature on race and discovered that, in all cases, differences between races were assumed to be essential rather than historically constituted. None of the authors of his study wondered, he points out, how "whites" become white. He found that there were two types of assumptions in psychoanalytic literature: that, deep down, we are all equal and culture is only a coating; or that, deep down, we are all unique, and the social pollutes or floods our uniqueness. In any case, culture is considered something external to internal psychic functions.

It's more, Dalal He found that the reality of cultural racism had never been taken into account as a cause of problems in the clinical psychoanalytic encounter. It is often assumed that the patient is acting childish fantasies; in the best of cases, race intermingles with these fantasies, but it is never determinant. Racism is conceptualized as an effect of individual prejudice, never as a cause of it. Dalal (2001) establishes the hypothesis that external reality is left out of psychoanalytic explanations of racial prejudice because of the fault of the white man.

More recent clinical discussions of race take external racism into account, and these often lead inexorably to discussions about the effects of trauma, espe-

cially traumas that are not verbalized but pass from one generation to the next (Apprey, 1993; George, 2001; Layton, 2002; Volkan, 2004; Walls, 2006) (4). The hatred involved in racist policies and racist projections tends to lead to all the well-known consequences of trauma: intense shame and hatred towards oneself, splitting, dissociation, suicidal or homicidal desires, to name a few (Walls, 2006; White, 2002). Herman (1992) writes that the psychic consequences of trauma often result in a tripartite internal structure that includes the positions of victim, perpetrator of damage and rescuer. As the clinical vignette that I will present suggests, it is always important to keep these three positions in mind when we work - as well as how the three awaken in us.

Clinicians influenced by post-structuralist anti-racism walk by the fine line that separates skepticism towards the category of "race" and respect for the fact that the "fiction" of racial difference is, nevertheless, a traumatic reality and live, because of the forces of racism and the many possible responses to those forces. Leary (1995, 1997) and Altman (2000) have argued convincingly that, whether or not it is talked about, race is always in the office when the dyad is interracial, and that the analyst who does not bring it up risks avoiding difficult but probably present material. The trauma of racism affects both "victims" and "perpetrators". It affects each of them differently, but as the clinical example of Altman, the victim and the author are psychically connected and the two roles can easily be reversed.

According to my own clinical experience, I have sometimes found it useful to mention race, or at least the privilege of race, even when patient and analyst were both white (Layton, 2006). On the other hand, Dalal (2002) states (with reference to the extensive data on the historicity of deracialization processes) that racism historically preceded the concept of race and, in their opinion, any reference to the race supposes a spurious base for the differentiation between races (see also Kovel, 1988) (5). If we take this for granted, then bringing the race to therapy is as complicated as pretending it is not there, because what is exactly the racial difference? While physical distinctions may anchor our notions of racial difference, what is really, in its oppressive mode, has to do with the power to divide human abilities and call white and other not white. It has to do with an ideological way of maintaining power differentials, or assigning, as I would say Bourdieu (1984) the distinction to a group of people and the lack of distinction - or, in the best of cases, a second class - to others.

As pointed Dalal (2002) citing Elias (1991), words and categories are incorporated emotions, and the positive or negative valence of words and categories derives from power relations: "Emotions are evoked and used to fulfill functions of differentiation.... Emotions are a technique that is exploited in the task of differentiation, and are not 'cause' of differentiation as sometimes wrongly assumed "(Dalal, 2002, p.131, italics in the original). When we observe more closely the content of the racial split (as I will do in the vignette discussed later in this paper), we will find all kinds of effects of these processes of splitting: among other cognitive effects, effects on the way in which they define and value attachment and the capacity to be an agent subject, and effects on emotional states, in their expression and their scope.

On the other hand, going back to the identity negotiation model, racial difference also has to do with everything that people labeled as the racially other Collectively and individually have been created historically from that labeling In what I differ from many deterministic stances on identity, it is in the feeling that racial identities and identity between dominant and subordinate identities are not closed systems; the identities of the subordinate groups are not fully determined by the power of the dominant groups. As stated by Hall (1982), and Laclau Y Mouffe (1985), elaborating the concept of hegemony of Gramsci (1971), the political and social life of modernity implies an incessant struggle between dominant and subordinated groups by power to precisely define constructs such as race.

Therefore, there are aspects of the identities that non-white groups create for themselves that are healthy, sometimes more psychologically healthy than the psychic states of those who identify with the split cultural ideals ascribed to the white race. Leary (1995, 1997) and Altman (2000) argue convincingly that, because of racism and the vital differences involved, whites and blacks in the culture of the United States observe the same phenomena in very different ways, another argument for the need to address racial difference in the analytical framework. The race theory of Dalal, which implies that drawing attention to the race is already racist, suggests that we can not avoid racist actions in the clinic, no matter what we do: we put into action racial processes when we bring a racial difference to the office, as well as when we deny the importance of said differences.

In the vignette that follows, I explore this problem through a series of enactments with an Asian-American patient, with whom the unconscious normative processes pushed me comfortably into a position of whiteness. After examining the clinical importance of the ambivalence of stereotypes, I will discuss the

growing discomfort with this patient felt as I explored what he saw as his tendency to self-abnegation And finally, I will observe the patient 's effort to know what love is, an effort that showed how the love -at like many constructs in which analysts rarely think in cultural terms - is impregnated by race. The interactions that I have selected also reveal the way in which race intersects with gender, class and sexuality.

Clinical vignette

Michael was an Asian-American gay man in his mid-thirties who went to therapy because he could not get his ex-boyfriend, a white middle-class man, out of his mind. The patient was concerned that this would interfere with their new relationship and hoped that the therapy, which he had never done before, could help him to remove the disturbing thoughts about the ex-boyfriend, especially the compulsion to compare himself to him in an unfavorable way for himself and to feel socially inept in relation to him. Michael had felt socially unfit for a long time, and at least part of the origin of this feeling was that his mother, who valued family and education very much, did not let him have too much social life outside of the family. He was expected to focus solely on the work of the school.

His mother and father had migrated from Asia to a suburb of a big city when they were in their early twenties, and Michael considered that many of his thoughts and feelings were a product of his non-Western culture - and he valued them as such. However, he felt, that he had problems with self-esteem and hoped that therapy would help him with that. At the same time, I had clear conflicts from the beginning about being in therapy. It seems that one of the ways in which his parents had differentiated from "Westerners" was to feel superior about their ability to be reserved people;parents thought that Westerners spoke too loudly, too publicly and too extensively about their private affairs. They also did it with their emotions. Michael often thought that way, too.

The experience lived by Michael illustrates the split and, in this case, the racialization and the nationalization of human capacities: in the family, emotion and rationality were separated and considered to be Western Y not western, respectively. This, surely, is not the way in which dominant Western groups tend to divide capacities, but if parents saw as their strong point that they could be rational and scientific, that served to distinguish them from others in terms of rationality. higher. However, these things are much more complex than they appear at first glance. It turned out that Michael's mother could some-

times become highly "irrational" - screaming, shouting and imposing rules that for Michael did not make sense. Ironically, this only increased Michael's identification with rationality and against emotion (6).

In high school, Michael realized his desire to be part of the privileged white group, but he also joined his Asian friends to denigrate the practices of the most popular kids - for example mocking that white people seemed to change continually as a couple but only between people of the same racial group. Michael imagined that he was the only one of the Asian boys who wanted to be part of the white group; As he told me, it would not be logical for Asian boys to denigrate something they really wanted to join. (Here I gently pointed out that this was precisely what he was doing, and maybe the logic is not always as good as it is supposed to be). Because of his wishes, Michael must have felt a certain degree of alienation from his friends as well, which accentuated his feeling of social ineptitude. The striking thing about his ambivalent place between Asians and Caucasians, East and West, was that it made him feel quite insecure - about what he felt and about the value of what he felt, because it pushed him to denigrate the things he wanted.

From my first sessions with Michael, saw that two networks were beginning to form, one that associated certain attributes with the Western whites and others with superior Asians, and another that denigrated Asians and idealized Western whites. These stereotypes were not just racial and ethnic; they were points nodes that united race, ethnic identity, gender and sexuality. Michael and I were aware of these networks, and, at one point, he laughed and said "I rely heavily on stereotypes, right? "

I bring Michael's story because his way of separating and racialize The attributes, sometimes with a superior position of the white, sometimes inferior, aroused many thoughts and feelings about how to work better with it. It also made me aware of my ways of categorizing and judging and made me be cautious towards certain certainties with which I realized that it operated. The therapy raised many questions about how intersectional identity categories are lived and how differentials of power create differences: differences in the range and expression of emotions, in the relationship between emotion and cognition, in the modes of separation and attachment, in the same experience of love that one has. I do not consider Michael to be representative of Asian Americans in general (7) ; rather, I rely on our work together to explore more deeply how ideologies about race, ethnic identity, gender and sexuality intersect and how they are lived and put into action in treatment.

As I have already mentioned, Michael idealized and denigrated the Caucasians, which placed me in a position now superior, now inferior. Although he was aware of his tendency to stereotype, for Michael the split on which this trend was based was unconscious, and the trauma that caused the split in the first place. Excision and projection can be universal defense mechanisms, but racism creates the wounds that organize these defenses, and it is in a racist field where people put into action repetitions that keep wounds open and simultaneously seek to cure them (Dalal, 2002 ; Layton, 2002).

Michael's ex-boyfriend (who was in fact a midlevel employee in a company and not a top executive, as the patient's admiration for him would have implied) embodied in Michael's fantasy everything he was not: he was handsome, smart, dressed well, athletic, successful in the company and, most importantly, socially sophisticated and popular. Michael's attraction was clearly a mixture of sexual desire and the desire to have what he thought his ex-boyfriend had. To be the right type of male in Michael's economy, one had to be white. The ideal of whiteness that organized her desire was high class, mundane, popular and - as the ex-boyfriend did not feel totally comfortable identifying himself as gay - at least he was heterosexual Y homophobic.

Michael denigrated what he considered Asian masculinity, and he did not think he could be attracted to an Asian male. He felt that neither the white men, the only ones who were worthy, nor the Asians, were attracted to Asian men. At the same time, he and his Asian friends had despised what they thought was the interested and falsely sincere culture of his ex-boyfriend. As he pointed out Bourdieu (1984) One of the central mechanisms of the aspect of identity formation based on the repudiation of the different, is to affirm the virtue of any social group in which one finds oneself (hence the title of the book by Bourdieu, *Distinction*).

Michael's Asian friends played the role of asking "Anyway, who wants to be white?" The whites are selfish. Actually, the ex and the patient's friends seemed preoccupied with others, he said Michael, but in reality, they were always manipulating social scenes to get what they wanted. Michael even complained that his affectionate current boyfriend had that Western way of thinking first of himself. For example, in restaurants, Michael observed, his white friends used to drink water or tea when they wanted, while he and other Asians he knew always served others first, and lastly themselves. So here was another stereotype: that white Westerners were self-centered and Asians were more educated and considerate of others.

The ambivalence of the stereotype

While the content of Michael's beliefs and observations is important and tells us how he and his family divided his and his family's human abilities, I want to first establish the form that the stereotype took: the oscillating idealization and denigration. Michael's conflicts and the way in which stereotypes worked for him as pseudosolutions resonate with recent theorizations about the ambivalence of the stereotype, and even amplify them.

Writing within a Lacanian framework about colonial discourse, Bhabha (1994) argues that stereotypes function as fetishes: they try to fix a significant to a concrete meaning (eg, blacks are animals, Jews are seized, etc.) and therefore they deny the fact that signifiers are always open to multiple meanings and that identities can never be fixed. Subjectivity disturbs incessantly the categories of identity because, by nature, it is divided by the existence of the unconscious and the non-symbolizable. (That division between meaning and being is what Lacan [1998] refers to as castration). The fetish-stereotype operates in the narcissistic economy of the imaginary Lacanian, the record in which the I is born as such.

In this Lacanian economy, the child about 18 months of age sees an image of himself that appears as a coherent whole. However, the child feels the self as a fragmentary and chaotic mess. The child identifies with this coherent version of the self, the ideal self. For Lacan, then, the self is based on the lack of recognition that we are not castrated. We know we are We are castrated beings, and yet we deny it by trying to focus on perfect identities. If we can do it, we use everything available to us—scientific knowledge, gender mastery, consumer goods—to deny the fact that subjectivity is essentially divided, that the self is not under control. Everything that reminds us of our fragmentary nature awakens aggression, narcissistic rage.

The stereotypes arise from the mind of the colonizer who, by psychic reassurance, interprets the same in the other, knowing all the time that the other is different, and tries to eradicate the other in the self. To maintain the denial, the colonizer must not give the other the opportunity to speak. Because when the other speaks, the fixity of meaning that the colonizer seeks to impose (in, for example, the colonialist ideologies of how black people are) is revealed as fictitious. The oscillation between knowing and not knowing is thus central to the colonial discourse, which fantasizes the other as knowable and equal, and yet aware that the other is different and rep-

resents a challenge to attempts to fix it within the stereotyped coordinates of the dominant discourse. The difference of the other, and the recognition of differences within the self, are threats to the colonizer's fantasy of totality and equality.

Bhabha (1994) exemplifies the way colonizer and colonized are involved in colonial discourse through a well-known "scene" of *Black Skin, White Masks* (Fanon, 1967, pp. 109-114). In this explanation, made in the first person, in a train a child sees Fanon and tells his mother "Mira, un negro", (p.109). Fun at first, Fanon is going feeling increasingly annoyed as he feels his humanity and its multiplicity as a man evaporates is reduced to just a "black body" (what he called an epidermal scheme racialized). He trembles with cold. The child, unaware of his aggression, interprets the tremor as a tremor of anger, and, suddenly, it scares the black man, fearing that the "black" will eat it. For Bhabha (following Lacan), the unstable terrain on which the bourgeois ego is formed ensures that the attempt to deny or dominate the difference will unleash a continuous aggression against the self and the other.

Writing in a Kleinian framework on the relationship between African-Americans and whites, Balbus (2004) argues that the dominant version of whiteness in the United States requires whites to separate emotion from reason, the body of mind, nature of culture. The black becomes the container of what has been separated from the white. Balbus argues that white stereotypes about blacks they offer important proof that whites love and hate blacks, and that they have a huge guilt for what historically has been done to blacks in this country. Guilt, however, is not expressed through reparation; In contrast, structural racism causes depressive distress at any stage of development-oral, anal or genital-that manifests itself in the regressive split and characteristic projection of the paranoid-paranoid form of relating. The stereotypes that whites develop about blacks at each evolutionary level reflect the split between unintegrated love and hate.

Balbus (2004) catalogs some of the contradictory assessments of white stereotypes about blacks, including white perceptions that blacks are "lazy and lazy" but also "relaxed and serene"; they are denigrated as "animals", while at the same time they are idealized as "natural athletes". Balbus maintains that the reparations, the monetary ones, would be symbolic of an emotional reparation in which, instead of continuing to divide, the whites would recognize the damage they have done to the blacks and handle the anxiety and guilt that this knowledge causes them. His argument is that to resume the white projec-

tions it is crucial for the welfare not only of blacks, but also of whites themselves.

In essence, I come to the same conclusion as these authors, that the nature of the stereotype is ambivalent, but I come to it from a different psychoanalytic framework, since I place ambivalence as derived not from an original destructive instinct, nor from an original split in our feelings about the breast / parental figure, nor of an original refusal to recognize limits and loss. Instead, I derive it from racism: from the fact that the dominant identity categories are defined by dividing into binary pairs the human capacities and attributes that can only develop and prosper in tandem, such as dependence and independence, connection and capacity, emotion and reason.. This division determines the ways in which we love, hate, create. And the reason why these divisions exist has little to do with human nature. Rather, there are in so that those who have power, the power to define the proper identity, remain in power.

The oscillation between the denigration and the idealization that marks the elaboration of stereotypes by my patient Michael is characteristic of narcissism, and is part of my argument that racism and other cultural inequalities produce not only narcissistic harm, but also character and defenses. narcissists. Michael often found himself caught in his network of projections, sometimes disdaining what he actually wanted, sometimes disdaining what he felt he was. Is the fantasy behind the process of creating stereotypes a fantasy of "lost" totality that nobody can and could not achieve (Bhabha, 1994)? Is the love-hate relationship with the white, rooted in original destructive and libidinal drives, split in half for cause of racism (Balbus, 2004)?

I suggest that fantasies of lost wholeness and division and projection driven by racism arise from the ashes of a narcissistic wound of racist motivation, which leads us to look for a place, a space of fantasy, in which we stop being vulnerable to pain, humiliation and isolation. Michael's ex-boyfriend, who embodied the values of white and whose rejection of Michael only made him more desirable, represented for Michael that space of fantasy. In this fantasy space, which Michael was reluctant to abandon with all his might, he would be loved by the ex or he would become more like the ex-and he would never again feel the pain of inferiority.

For Bhabha (1994) and others (eg George, 2001), the ideal colonial ego is white, and anything that threatens the assertion of being white can arouse anxiety and aggression. An important risk of discourses that reinforce racial difference is to define who can claim the quality of target / totality and who can not. In their article on racial melancholy, Eng and Han (2002) argue that the ste-

reotypes that persecute Asian Americans are different from those that persecute African-Americans. These authors focus specifically on the psychic effects of model-minority stereotype. In his view, many middle-class Asians or upward social mobility become melancholy because success in white America often requires a rejection of part of who they are. Moreover, Eng and Han claim that, while Asian Americans can get rich and succeed in their field, they can never become white; If the inclusion that accompanies the white being is what they covet, the psychic mission is doomed to failure.

My patient Michael felt that he had inadequate attributes, including body type, to be the right kind of man. The love that Michael felt for his ex-boyfriend reminded me of the psychic positions Benjamin identified in *The Loops of Love* (1988), which I referred to earlier as versions of narcissism. For, in that relationship, Michael had adopted the submissive, self-denigrating position, typical of dominant white femininity, in its relation to dominant white masculinity. Of again, his desire seemed to echo the formula Kohutian "You are perfect and I am part of you" (Kohut, 1971).

All this seemed obvious to me and I thought that, in the course of therapy, Michael would probably come to see that he did not love his ex-boyfriend as much as what he represented and what he lacked. What was not so obvious to me later was that in many exchanges about their desire, Michael had given me - and I had unconsciously assumed the position of the target. Although it is true that in our concrete historical moment, I am considered and consider myself white (as opposed to historical moments) in which Jews were considered non-white), and while it is true that I have many of the privileges of being white, it is also true, as Lacan (1977, 1978) could have said, that whiteness entails a fantasy of totality that nobody You can claim.

The pretense to embody the white is precisely the kind of unconscious normative process that sustains racial inequality. What might be considered my unconscious desire to occupy the position of what I would call invulnerability (instead of totality) - a collusion with Michael's desire - demonstrates that racism and class inequality not only divide the psyche of the subordinate; they also reinforce the dominant's fantasmatic stance, and both parties want to cling to the fantasy that-again, as Lacan would say- someone owns the phallus (see Bhabha's discussion, 1994, above) and is invulnerable to pain and loss.

I think it is important to think how, technically, we can handle the split inherent in racial categories without fostering a fantasy of totality. While one af-

ternoon I was listening to a Leary conference (2003) I suddenly realized that I had adopted that day vis to vis with my patient the position of the white. Michael and I had been talking about the psychic function for which his ex-boyfriend had served, the connection with the white that that relationship had given him, and I remembered that I said something like "And you can never be white". Thinking article Eng and Han (2002), I remember having said to me something like: "Poor guy. He will never be white and he will have to mourn for it. "

Once I realized my collusion with the norm that separates the white from the non-white, however, I began to ask other kinds of questions: for example, what was the white thing for him, what did he think was desirable? attributes that I associated with it, and how had those attributes fallen into the category of not-self? More importantly, I asked Michael if he was assuming I was white and what that meant to him. Although recognizing the privilege that I have for the fact that I am associated with the white, I tried, however, to transmute the categories of white and Asian into what they mean in a racialized culture and in their racialized imagination. Consequently, at the same time that the white as a narcissistic structure was denigrated or idealized, there arose a third space of the white in which Michael used the fantasy that his ex-boyfriend and I "clung to the white" in order to explore what that he had coveted and what had been isolated in life.

On good education and self-absorption, emotion and reason

Now I will look at the content of the stereotypes and how that content was interpreted in the treatment. On numerous occasions, Michael's therapy not only confronted me with my own stereotypes but also made some of the health assumptions that I had sustained conscious and problematic, assumptions that were also unconsciously enacted in the treatment and that served to sustain a status quo of determined power.

As I mentioned before, it seemed to me that the Western / non-Western Michael construct sometimes took the form of what was familiar to me as male / female binary. One day, she told me that her ex-boyfriend had pointed out that when Michael walked down the street and someone was coming towards him in the opposite direction, it was always Michael who moved and stepped aside. Michael also wondered sometimes why he did not feel angry on the occasions when he knew that his Western friends would have been angry. I often noticed that Westerners seemed very angry-for example, they said they were having a bad day, instead of just that some thing had not gone well. In other

words, I felt that Westerners had an irrational way of seeing non-personal events - such as bad weather - as something personal.

More than once, I found myself thinking that, if Michael had been a white woman and had told me some of the things he had done, I would have been sure that we were facing problems of self-assertion. But what made me less certain, in this case and perhaps in all of them, is that I happened to have read an article by Rothblum et al. (2000) that drew my attention to the possibility of some tension in therapy, of Michael's continued discomfort for being in therapy, could have something to do with my conscious and unconscious assumptions and how he was putting them into action.

Rothblum et al. they argued that the basic principles of the theory of Attachment-for example, that secure attachment favors the freedom to explore-is not universal, but is the product of Western psychological assumptions. Comparing Western and Japanese child-rearing practices, they point out that, while Western parental figures encourage their children to reaffirm, understand what they need and ask for, Japanese parent figures tend to anticipate the child's needs and fears. to create an environment in which needs are met without the child having to ask for it. The Japanese mother, they argue, favors emotional proximity, while the western mother favors exploration and autonomy. While the western ideal of competence values to achieve for oneself what is needed versus relying on others to satisfy one's own needs, in Japanese parenting practices, the focus is the coordination of one's needs with those of others. In the West, babies are encouraged to explore and orientate towards the environment; In Japan, babies explore less and are encouraged to focus more on their mothers, to be more dependent. While in the West it is valued to link attachment and exploration, in Japan the main link is between attachment and dependence. This serves the Japanese value of accommodation or "social adaptation". "These terms," the authors write, "refer to the empathy of children with others, their conformity to the wishes of others and their sensitivity to social norms and codes" (Rothblum et al., 2000, p. 1099).

For Michael, many things made therapy difficult, and the least of them was not the idea that he was supposed to start the sessions. I tell myself that I felt "overwhelming" to speak only of himself; that made him feel like he was bothering me. I interpreted this as a problem of self-assertion, but maybe that was not all! And yet it was obvious that Michael, as someone caught between two cultures, struggled, as Eng and Han (2002) suggest, between being like a Westerner and being like his family.

Must I be, therefore, the cultural agent that makes Michael feel more comfortable operating with Western norms, effectively addressing one side of the conflict? Or is my job simply to point out the different rules, conflicts, and let Michael find his own way? Consciously, I believe that my work is the latter, but I fear that very often I carry out the first, based on the health ideals that my Western education has defended, ideals incorporated not only in the technique but also in the treatment framework. I suppose one could say that this performance is conscious since, after all, I can articulate what the ideals are. But my opinion is that, even though the ideals may be conscious, the split and the devaluation on which they are based are not. Repeatedly fulfilling the norms of my profession, I maintain the approval / love of my peers while defending a certain distribution of power.

Then one day, Michael presents a dilemma he has with a current boyfriend. Michael does not really know if he loves him or not; He knows he is loved, but it is not enough. I ask him what his feelings are. She says she knows that she loves her parents because she wants them to be happy, and she wants to do everything she can to make them happy. Is that a feeling? He asks. I propose the hypothesis that there is something that prevents you from feeling and knowing what you feel, and I think it has to do with the way in which feelings have been identified as Western Y bad. Repeated his feeling that Westerners react disproportionately when bad things happen, and is happy that to him this does not happen. But sometimes he would like to get angry-and he's not sure he should. In fact, he feels angry sometimes; and then he mentions a new game that he is playing with himself, in which he waits a little longer before taking off when someone walks towards him on the street. He assumes that as his ex-boyfriend pointed out to him the fact that he always departs first, now he thinks there must be something wrong with this behavior. But he is angry that the others do not move away - it is not fair and it is impolite. He is happy to be as is' But is being trodden?

I struggled in this treatment because my hypothesis, based on certain things that Michael said showed a desire to express more emotion, was that the whole Western / non-Western theme was a way in which he remained inhibited, preventing integrating emotion and reason. He also felt that his mother's shouting fits, sometimes accompanied by humiliating behavior, made the emotion frightening. And yet, I certainly agreed with him that Western forms of affirmation (or, at least, his version of the East Coast of the United States) often crossed the border with rudeness and lack of politeness.

At one point, I talked to Michael about my confusions. He was talking about how he had enjoyed the previous weekend with the visit of a friend, a man who laughed a lot with Michael's jokes. He pointed out that he generally felt responsible for his guests having a good time, without noticing he was having a good time. Since I read this again as an abnegation on his part, I brought up the confusions I had felt about the Western / non-Western dichotomy. I told her I was worried that, like the ex-boyfriend, I might have been pathologizing something about these values of courtesy and duty that guided his behavior, and I told him that my therapy culture tends to understand some of these ways of being as self-abnegation

I mentioned that I was sure that, if I were treating a Western woman, I would have moved in the direction of seeing that behavior as self-sacrificing. I told him "I suppose what matters is if you consider those forms of being an obstacle for you; ¿ Vd. Do you want things to be different? "

Michael then did a review of some of the examples that he considered of the western rudeness, and in the new interpretation, things were more complicated, more East-West: he said that, when the tea is served, he realizes that if not There is a lot left in the teapot, you can run out of tea; this, in fact, bothers him. In fact, he said the responsibility of making others happy is also directed to self: If your friend does not have liked what to him seemed fun, he would have felt devalued and guilty.

Then she pointed out that her boyfriend used to leave him frequently only at parties, and how the boyfriend rationalized his behavior affirming the value of independence and the contempt for being stuck. But, Michael said, "I told him more than once that I did not feel comfortable in those situations, and he should not have left me alone."

"Actually," I answered, and at that moment I realized that this was not about whether the value system was correct; but about being in tune with your partner, aware of their vulnerabilities.

At this point, I decided to ask Michael if I might have any feelings about my next vacation, since he had mentioned being left alone. The rest of the session focused on the question of whether or not he really needed therapy: he associated with the first therapist he consulted, the one who referred him to me a year earlier, and expressed the feeling that his office was much better placed than mine, and that he would like to be able to sleep while I was away and think, in my absence, if I should leave therapy.

He then associated with the fact that his friend's girlfriend was not very attractive, even though the friend was. And when I asked her if this could have something to do with what she had brought before, she concluded the sequence saying that her new boyfriend did not think he really needed therapy. "I think the things that happen to me happen to a lot of people - and I do not think the others are in therapy for those things." I thought that this expression of discomfort with the therapy was related to everything that had arisen before about what was Western and what was not. I told Michael, defensively and not defensively, that many are in therapy precisely because of the issues he has raised. And then he told me that he would not pay me my fees if his insurance did not pay him, and he felt guilty about it; just to know that your insurance coverage expire within two months.

This material is so full of suggestive moments that I almost hesitate to offer an interpretation. But my best guess is that Michael may have felt hurt when I suggested a connection between his psychology and that of Western femininity. Had he inadvertently feminized this Asian man who was already sensitive to the female stereotype - as gay and as Asian? Maybe he wanted to point out to me that he really is much more assertive and self-referential, more masculine, than I think. Maybe the next association, about abandonment, would not have as much to do with my impending vacation as with the way I had hurt it. Like her ex-boyfriend, such Once he should have known that what he was saying made him feel uncomfortable.

I venture this conjecture because the material that came later, about whether or not it should leave the therapy and if it was worth paying for it, had a hostile face. I did not overlook the fact that the therapist I had come to first was not only closer to her home, but also quite young and beautiful - was he perhaps trying to hurt me by questioning my femininity?

At the same time, Michael's conflict over therapy also had other roots. An important issue with her current boyfriend was that he did not seem to value the process, and Michael increasingly came to see how he valued it himself. I think he found his desire to insight as a taboo, and perhaps even associated with femininity degraded and the degraded West.

What is love?

I conclude my discussion of this vignette with another topic that Michael faced during therapy: the question of what love is. This was not only a problem of the present, but I also invoke it here to demonstrate how the constructs we tend to regard as more universal and psychological, less culturally influenced, are, in many ways, physical Y socially constructed.

Above I noted that Michael was not sure if he was in love with his current partner and also that he felt he was not very desirable - a feeling heightened by his ex-boyfriend, but that the current boyfriend totally contradicted. The current boyfriend had only had two other couples in his life, and both were Asian. My patient wondered about white men who only want Asians - he said that, generally, only fat and old white men go with Asians. And Michael wondered why he was never attracted to Asian men.

Countless works of fiction convince me that love is a social construct as much as a feeling, and that racism can destroy or seriously interfere with the capacity to love. No work, perhaps, deepens in the socially constructed nature of love better than *M. Butterfly* (Hwang, 1989). In this work, a white French diplomat, Gallimard, passionately falls in love with a person whom he thinks is a diminutive, feminine Asian opera singer, to which he has listened to sing the leading role in *Madame Butterfly*. She tells him the tragic story of the American sailor who seduced and then abandoned the Japanese Butterfly, who, in desperation, committed suicide. And, then, he mocks Gallimard for finding the beautiful story. In a powerful speech, it highlights the way power relations infuse love:

It's one of your favorite fantasies, right? The submissive oriental woman and the cruel white man... Consider it this way: what would you say if the blond queen of the former students fell in love with a Japanese businessman and low? He treats her cruelly, then goes home for three years, during which she prays before her photo and rejects marriage to a young Kennedy. Then when he knows that he has married, he kills himself. Now, I think you would think that this girl is a deranged idiot, right? But as an Oriental who commits suicide for a Westerner - ah ! - it seems beautiful. [Hwang, 1989, p. 17]

And yet, this is exactly what the work represents, the revenge of the Asian man, low, thin, against the white western. Having fallen madly in love with his Butterfly, Gallimard learns that the object of his love is actually a transvestite Asian male. Desperate to preserve the fantasy of his authentic heterosexual love, where men are dominant and submissive women, Gallimard transforms into the female Asian Butterfly, and is killed for love.

And perhaps there is no author who shows better the rate of damage that racism inflicts on love than Toni Morrison. In one of his short stories, "Recitatif" (1983), two girls, one black and one white, are abandoned in an orphanage because their mothers can not take care of them. A mother is physically ill; the other is mentally. We do not know which of the girls is black and which is white,

and Morrison, mixing class and race signifiers, makes his readers face up to our own racial stereotypes as we frantically try to imagine who is black and who is white. But history takes us through the lives of girls and shows us how, at any historical moment, racism frustrates their ability to rediscover the mutual care and protection they once shared when, upon seeing each other for the first time, each one recognized in the other the vulnerability caused by maternal abandonment.

Such literary works suggest the reasons why Michael could only love white men, especially to those who could not or did not want to be sexual with him. As the therapy progressed, his membership in a gay Asian activist organization seemed to decrease his homophobia, and he began to be attracted to men from certain Asian subcultures other than his own. It seemed to me that here was an example of how essentialist categories and identity politics can, in fact, facilitate growth and defeat internalized racist and sexist prejudices.

But in this case there is more to history than love and ethnicity. For Michael, love was less a feeling than a sense of duty. He came to understand that the passion he felt for his ex-boyfriend had to do with him remaining inaccessible and rejecting. Michael's unique experiences of passion were within that model of unrequited love. (My interpretation was that her desire was fueled by her desire to have what the ex-boyfriend fantasized to have). Moreover, the love just knew I loved her parents because she wanted them to be happy, because they had sacrificed for him. He wanted to sacrifice for them in turn, and to That was what he called love. At the beginning of her therapy, she told that she only cried in the movies during the scenes of love between parents and children, never in the love scenes between adults. In his opinion, love between adults was never pure, because, simply by wanting the other, "he is asking for something to be returned from his love".

During the treatment, I was never sure if Michael simply did not love his current boyfriend, and he was simply enjoying how much this man loved him, or if we were facing an inability to love that had to do with several other factors: inhibition of feeling and behaving "irrationally"; self-denigration and internalized homophobia ("I do not want to be a member of any club that accepts me as a member"); and the confusion that always seemed to occur when the other knew what he wanted from him. Actually, it seemed to me that the legacy of the insistent presence of Michael's mother - which he perceived as love, but also as control - made him feel insecure about what he felt whenever the other was safe. I thought that the restrictions on his freedom

that had so displeased him during growth had been rationalized as a kind of "true" love, a disinterested love.

And then I came across an article about filial devotion in Chinese culture (Gu, 2006). The author of this article argued that the Oedipus in this culture is different from the western Oedipus. Specifically, it is characterized by a loyalty between the parental figures and the son that transcends the loyalty between spouses. Again, I saw offset by the recognition that the desire of my patient was not just defensive, and was defensive perhaps only when viewed from my particular frame. Am I so discouraged that disinterested love seems absurd to me? I certainly did not hear this interpretation of love of his mother as disinterested; it seemed to me that her sacrifices were aimed so much to get her son to reach where she and her husband could not reach, as they were to make their son happy. But I suppose I should ask: what does happiness have to do with? Is the idea that we are supposed to be happy is another Western value?

I leave the reader with my confusion instead of with no attempt at an answer.

Conclusion

This summary of my work with Michael gives some idea of how racist hierarchies create racial identities that are characterized by the oscillating dynamics of idealization and devaluation characteristic of narcissism. The norms of race, class, gender and sexuality, norms transmitted within family and cultural enclaves of love and hate (P. Williams, 1997), are unconsciously and subsequently legitimized in the way we affirm ourselves in the world and in the way we connect with others. As Altman (2000) has stated, clinicians have to assume that their racism floods the clinical encounter in a certain way; I hope to have here we show some of the ways in which patient and therapist enact the norms that divide and racialize emotion and reason, dependence and independence, love and hatred.

NOTES

The way in which I formulate the connection between hierarchies of power and lived experience (Layton, 1998, 2002) derives from the way in which one the relational psychoanalytic feminist theory and social theory -as they have been described, for example, Altman (1995), Benjamin (1988), Chodorow Goldner, (1991), Harris (1991), Leary (1995, 1997), Lesser, 1997), Schwartz (1992, 1995) - with post-structuralist theories, especially with work

of Butler (1995) and Bourdieu (1984) on the "distinction" and class. My theory of unconscious normative processes also owes a debt to the culturalist psychoanalytic tradition of from (1941), with Kohut's theories of narcissism (1971, 1977) and with Fairbairn's theories about schizoid personality, as well as Klein's theories about schizoid mechanisms. Some few clinicians in Great Britain, mainly from the group of the psychoanalytic tradition, have also elaborated ideas about a social unconscious in relation to clinical practice; I refer the reader especially to Hopper (2003) and Dalal (2002), as well as to one of the main sources of Dalal, Foulkes (1990). (1978), Dimen (2003),

Currently, the dominant norms of femininity are fluctuating and, in fact, a newly articulated middle class ideal seems increasingly the dominant male norm of defensive autonomy (Layton, 1004c, 2004d)

For an excellent summary of psychoanalytic theories of race, see Dalal, 2002, chapter 2.

George (2001) argues that African-Americans can cling defensively to racial identity to avoid confronting the unsymbolized trauma of slavery. According to the scheme Lacanian of George, racial identities work with too often caused the lagoon suturing in subjectivity by the trauma of slavery. The trauma not symbolized in the Real gives rise to repetition. While racial identity can be used to encourage progressive politics when it is recognized as socially constructed and provisional, it is too often used defensively to mourn the trauma.

Dalal (2002) writes that "the terms race, ethnic identity and culture are all names for differences" (p 23, italics in the original) In his opinion, the function of differentiation, normally hidden, is naturalize power relations. He urges us to observe not the difference but its function, and why a certain difference is "heated" at specific times.

Note that I refer to "rationality", not reason. I do it because I want to emphasize that split polarities tend to be monstrous versions of what they claim to be. As Freud (1915) once said about repression, the content of the repressed does not remain the same as it was when it was repressed. Moreover, "proliferates in the dark... and takes extreme forms of expression" (page 149). This is true also for what is split and dissociated, so when we say that emotion and reason are split, I want to make clear that the result of the split will always be pathological versions of what I consider the usual human capacities of emotion and reason.

I realize perfectly well that the Japanese of America, for example, do not have the same background as the Chinese or the American Indians, although, to

preserve confidentiality, I hide these differences at certain moments of the article.

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Ethnic identity and the separatism problem in the context of globalization

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Abstract *Separatism (as well as terrorism, extremism, xenophobia) is one of the most dangerous and difficult to predict phenomena. Timely detection, prevention and prevention of separatism in the actions of individuals, associations and organizations is a pledge of security. The study of the individual aspirations of the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century allows us to reveal some causes of ethnic separatism. This domination movement develops according to any type of ethnic conflict pattern - actualization of the group's ethnic identity with the support of the ethnos' historical consciousness, the formation of a political party, and the mobilization activity of the party aimed at expanding the social base of separatism, turning individual needs into a psychological environment; translating these requirements to an unrationalized emotional level becomes a representative of humanitarian intelligence.*

Keywords: *Separatism, terrorism, extremism, xenophobia, is one of the most dangerous and hardly predictable phenomena*

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Introduction

Timely detection, prevention and prevention of separatism in the actions of individuals, associations and organizations - a security pledge. The researching of individual aspirations of the late XX and early XXI century makes it possible to identify some of the causes of ethnic separatism. This movement for domination develops according to the ethno-conflict scheme of any type - the actual-

ization of the ethnic identity of the group with the support of the activity of the historical consciousness of the ethnos, the formation of a political party, the mobilization activity of the party aimed at expanding the social base of separatism, the transformation of individual requirements into a psychological setting; the transfer of these requirements to a non-rationalized emotional level becomes representatives of humanitarian intelligence.

Introduction

Despite the obvious tendencies of internationalization and globalization in the life of the world community, today ethnic and national conflicts and confrontations come to the fore in different countries, regardless of their level of economic development. In the 1990s, nationalism became a factor in the formation of a wide range of political situations and processes in various regions of the world. In fact, his ideas and practices are just as global as contemporary world development. The problem of correlation between psychology and culture occupies a large place in ethno psychology [13.p.155].. It is not our task to focus specifically on the definition of the concept of "culture", but we can not completely avoid this problem if we want to understand the relationship between the psychology of people and their culture.

It seems to us that these two categories are diverse, but the difficulty of their separation lies in the fact that they coincide in some part or, in any case, they converge. This allows in many cases to determine the psychology of the ethnic community through its culture and cultural facts through the mental warehouse. Let us recall a well-known proposal about the commonality of mental make-up that affects the culture community. When studying any community for any purpose, we must take into account all these factors that do not directly determine the culture, but influence it and test its impact on me... Many scientists have made a mistake trying to explain the culture by others such as race or climate... It should be borne in mind that biological characteristics, the number of members of society, ecology can not determine the behavior of people, if this behavior is no longer due to the social organization, the productive forces and the historical development of Odom "[1.p76]. Ethnic separatism, as a rule, is exacerbated during periods of socio-economic instability, accompanied by social differentiation of citizens, a fierce struggle for power, an increase in crime. All this, in the final analysis, leads to an increase in attempts to resolve the emerging contradictions and conflicts by force through opposition groups of ethnic groups opposing them. In the list of inadequate human psychology, I the reac-

tions of nations and their elites, separatism is the second "destructive" destabilizing category of expression of ethnic manifestations on the path of anti-state interests, which, as a rule, is based on ethno genesis, the destructive feature of which is ethnic separatism. As the material culture, which determines its direction and pace to a certain extent, not only affects the current active social, political and economic situation, but also historically formed ideas, tastes, ethical views and other elements of national psychology [12.p.87]..

The psychology of an ethnos is a phenomenon that is current, changing, alive, directly relevant to each period of time of a particular community and distinguishing it among others. Psychology expresses itself from all spheres of everyday human activity and therefore seems elusive until it brings tangible results. Today's moods, stagnant in culture, continue to influence the members of the community, reviving for the new generations its past psychic experience. Culture thus acts as a transmitter of information, and we allow ourselves to designate this notion of a system of objective information about the mental experience of an ethnic community - the bearer of a given culture. According to the modern theory of belonging, each person has, to varying degrees, the need for belonging to a group. For most people in an unstable situation in a transitional society, family and ethnicity (perception of oneself as a member of a "family", small or large) becomes the most acceptable way to feel again as part of the whole, to find psychological support in the tradition.

On the Prevention of Ethnic Separatism

The essence of separatism is the manifestation of tendencies towards the separation of ethnic groups within integral national entities. From the socio-political point of view, "separatism is a requirement of sovereignty and independence for an ethnically designated territory. This requirement is directed against the state authorities of the country of residence. " In the Russian legislation there is no definition of separatism, which makes it difficult to prevent it within the legal framework. At the same time, the Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism of 15.06.2001 may become a benchmark for determining the meaning of the word "separatism". By "separatism" it means an act aimed at violating the territorial integrity of the state, including the separation of part of the territory from it, or the disintegration of the state, committed by force, as well as the planning and preparation of such an act, complicity in its commission, incitement to it " [9.p.45]..

Due to the radical change in Russia's geopolitical position, complex processes in the international arena, the problem of preserving its territorial integrity is quite pressing for our country. Separatism leads to the undermining of

Russian statehood. Religion plays a special role in the problem of separatism. Another factor contributing to the emergence of separatist movements is the problem of increasing migration.

The danger of separatism is that the reduction of the spatial limits of the state, as a rule, leads to a reduction in resources (not only natural, but also human) that can be used for its self-preservation and development. For this reason, in each state, the preservation of territorial integrity is attributed to its most significant interests, which are commonly called vital.

The impact of separatism on Russia's security can manifest itself in different spheres in different ways. In the political sphere, separatism can lead to the following negative consequences:

- general destabilization of the situation in the country;
- the weakening of state sovereignty and the emergence of certain territories out of the control of the federal authorities;
- the emergence of organizations that act under the slogans of separatism and have significant political influence;
- undermining the authority of the federal government among the population of the country;
- the emergence of the refugee problem, which may have serious political and socio-economic consequences.

In the military sphere, separatism can lead to the emergence of a number of destructive processes:

- violation of the country's military infrastructure;
- the establishment by extremist groups of control over the territory occupied by military targets;
- the creation of terrorist bases in the areas of activity of separatist movements, as well as the emergence of new channels for the penetration of weapons, explosives and drugs into Russia;
- the transformation of individual regions of the country into hotbeds of military confrontation with federal forces.

Separatism is capable of undermining the country's economic potential as a result of disorganization of economic life not only at the regional, but also at the federal level. In the spiritual sphere, separatism leads to the spread of nationalist ideas that contribute to the radicalization of the consciousness and political behavior of the country's population.

Breakthrough periods lay the preconditions for extremism also by significantly increasing the interest of people experiencing frustration and depression

to historical traditions. Traditionalism, brought to its logical conclusion, is the main prerequisite for various manifestations of such a radical ideological trend as fundamentalism.

The well-known sociologist Yu. Levada notes that in the post-Soviet period the positive self-affirmation of Russians was carried out mainly due to resuscitation of traditional national values and symbols, as well as mythologization and glorification of the past of their people. However, such tendencies in other ethnic communities in the former Soviet Union republics and in the former national autonomies of Russia are even more noticeable.

It is no coincidence that North Ossetia has become Alanya, Tatarstan celebrates the day of memory of those killed in the capture of Kazan by Russians, Armenians celebrate the day of genocide, etc. [17.p.423].

The growth of traditionalism, in turn, strengthened people's aspirations for cultural isolation, caused the growth of xenophobia, caused contradictions in development, hindering the processes of modernization and globalization.

Extreme urbanization, specific forms of industrialization, changes in the ethno-demographic structure of society, especially in the context of turbulent, unregulated migration processes, can give rise to extremism.

Almost always, extremism emerges in the period of nation-building, if it is accompanied by the struggle of the central government with ethnic separatism and regional autarky.

The listed historical factors of extremism testify to the possibility of its manifestation practically in any part of the world, but to the greatest extent - in zones of concentration of processes of incomplete modernization and cultural marginalization. This is largely to explain the outbreak of extremism in the so-called Islamic world.

So, if we take for analysis the countries and regions in which more than 3/4 of the total Islamic population (Indonesia, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Arab countries) are concentrated, then we can easily note the specific forms of their development, the incompleteness and deformity of many social and cultural processes. An example is urbanization, which in all these countries and regions led to a gigantic concentration of the recent rural population in the cities, but did not provide the neo-migrants with opportunities for cultural adaptation, as the cities themselves lose the features of urban culture and are, as it were, disinherited. Such an environment provides for an extended reproduction of the marginal layers of the population - the mass social base of extremism. The main issues in the national policy are four:

- preservation and development of cultures and languages of the peoples of Russia, strengthening their spiritual community;
- ensuring the rights of indigenous minorities and national minorities;
- creation of additional socio-economic and political conditions for ensuring a lasting national and international peace and harmony in the North Caucasus;
- Support for compatriots living abroad, assistance in the development of their relations with our country.

Priority areas are improvement of public administration and development of international cooperation in the sphere of national policy, creation of conditions for socio-cultural adaptation and integration of migrants. It is also necessary to develop a system of civic-patriotic upbringing, to improve the interaction of the authorities with the institutions of civil society, and so on.

Given that ethnic separatism, ethno political extremism and international terrorism pose a threat to the national security of the country, in addition to special measures, it is necessary:

a) prevention of ethnic separatism and ethno political extremism, which implies:

- the formation in society of rejecting the ideas of extremism as a negative phenomenon in connection with the ideas of the country's development, improving the quality of life, socio-economic and socio-political stability;
- Strengthening the legal framework and experience for the early prevention of inter-ethnic conflicts and related manifestations of extremism and terrorism;
- Involve ethno-cultural and public associations, religious organizations, their leaders in the development of inter-ethnic and inter-confessional dialogue, revival of family values, counteraction to extremism and intolerance;
- an organization with the participation of institutions and representatives of civil society and Internet providers to combat the propagation of extremist ideas in social networks;
- Prohibition of activities aimed at undermining the national security of the state, the rights and freedoms of citizens, inciting ethnic and racial hatred and enmity;
- Legislative consolidation of the responsibility of the heads of federal government bodies, state authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, local governments and other representatives of the government and

law and order for acts and omissions that provoke interethnic relations and conflicts;

- Introduction of regulatory, legal and informational measures to counteract the politicization of the ethnic factor in electoral process and party programs [25.p.35]..

b) forecasting, prevention and settlement of interethnic conflicts, which assume:

- Improvement of the system of management and coordination of actions at the federal, regional and municipal levels, including the creation of authorized executive bodies of the subjects of the Russian Federation;

- consideration of ethnic and religious aspects in working with personnel in the Armed Forces, law enforcement agencies and convicts in the system of execution of sentences;

- Monitoring the state of interethnic relations in military collectives and areas where military units are deployed;

- creation of a state-state system for monitoring the state of interethnic relations and early warning of conflict situations on the basis of diversification of information sources (including the use of monitoring data by public, ethno cultural, human rights and religious organizations, law enforcement bodies, expert communities), prompt response to conflict and pre-conflict situations in the subjects of the Russian Federation;

- provision by the executive bodies of the subjects of the Russian Federation and local self-government bodies of monitoring

the state of interethnic relations, including the preparation of information on the activities of public authorities of the subjects of the Russian Federation in the implementation of state public policy and interaction with ethno-cultural and religious associations in the subject of the Russian Federation;

The last stage of ethnic identification is the development of a single community of the ideal. ideal

- a model of the future, which requires partial or complete modification of the current order of things, "explodes" this order of things from within. In building the ideal, the eternal opposition of the right and the existing is resolved in favor of the obligation. From the point of view of the obligation and the future ethnos, is it perceived as cultural autonomy, the creation of a self-sufficient state or the fulfillment of some messianic predestination [3, p.123].

Ethnicity as a kind of social identity - ethnic identity - acquires special significance in a multi-ethnic society during the crisis periods of its development. Anomie, instability of society determine the decline in the potential "I". A lot of

weak and uncertain "I" begin to look for a strong "We". This means that the individual seeks to more accurately determine the social and psychological boundaries of his existence. It's you - go beyond your "I", identifying yourself with any community or group. Thanks to the expansion of individual borders in a new identity, a person strives for comfort and stability. And if society turns out to be powerless, the ethnic group trusts people. Because of this ethnicity or ethnic identity is considered by us as the main tool by which the group manages to determine reliable and noticeable borders [4, p.222].

Demonstration of ethnic identity occurs through ethnic symbols: special clothing, dance, rituals, patterns of behavior and special moral values. Therefore, ethnic identity can be determined by using a group of people "of any elements of culture as subjective symbols and emblems to distinguish themselves from other groups." Thus, the ethnic group has common cultural traits and can be defined as "a self-aware group of people who hold common traditional views that do not share the other groups with which it is in contact. Such traditions usually include popular religious beliefs and customs, language, understanding of history, the idea of common ancestors, the place of origin." The considerable research literature accumulated in the analysis of the conflicts of ethnosaparatism in the world makes it possible to distinguish both the logic of the formation of the movement itself and the logic of its reaction to it from the state. Movement for separation develops in accordance with the ethno-conflict model of any type:

- 1) actualization of the ethnic identity of the group, based on the activation of the historical consciousness of the ethnos made by representatives of the humanitarian intelligentsia;
- 2) the formation of a political party (ie, the institutionalization of the movement);
- 3) mobilization activities of the party aimed at expanding the social base of separatism;
- 4) the transformation of separatist demands into a psychological environment, ie, the translation of these requirements into an irrational emotional level [5.p.45].

The first and most important step for a person to feel that they are representative of an ethnic group is the identification procedure, that is, the definition of the criteria and boundaries of the community. Ultimately, the realization of the transitivity of a certain historical time causes reflexive tendencies in the

minds of the individual and society, which manifests itself in increased attention to ethnic identification.

- in heterostereotypes. It is an involuntary and often not realized representative of the community of the psychological setting in the perception of oneself and others. This level of ethnic identification is associated with the formation of relatively stable views and assessments, typical for the ethnic group of behavioral, communicative, emotional styles. Stereotypes are linked between; they form a self-organizing system that accumulates some standardized collective experience and is an integral element of ordinary consciousness.

When considering the process of ethnic identification, one can observe a fairly interesting regularity: the main way of ethnic identification is the development and assimilation of myths. It is the myth that can be considered as the basic form of ordering complex social reality. And if we take into account that the special nature of mythological thinking is the disparity between the real and the ideal, then it becomes obvious why the mythological perception of its ethnic community is leading to transitional social epochs: in mythology, the opposition of the "proper" and the "existent" erases, the community is absolutized, which is an effective psychological stabilizer of consciousness.

Identification occurs in comparison, in repulsion from the "neighbors", in the development of common stereotypes of perception, and it is the myth that becomes the basis for the interpretation of social events. The greatest integrating impact is the national (ethnic) ideal, which by its very nature is also always mythological [6.p.55].

In this way, people are a genetic community, on the one hand, and social, on the other. Ethnos often all appear as human populations, but in the future they develop as social systems. Ethnos is a social group, the members of which unite ethnic self-consciousness - the consciousness of their genetic connection with other representatives of this group. It should be noted that what is meant here is not so much an actual genetic link as an idea of it. "Genes" (blood relationship) by themselves do not yet form ethnic self-awareness [7.p145].

In the same part of the world, the processes of national-state consolidation are not completed, which gives rise to a whole bunch of consequences that favor the development of extremism. Thus, under conditions of constant tension between the central government and local communities, ethnic minorities, the main role in the consolidation of the population is assumed by Islam. In this regard, the political importance of religion, which challenges the secular authorities in its role in governing the state, is significantly increased. Mosques and madrassas often become centers of propaganda for political extremism. There

are paramilitary religious and political organizations and movements such as the Taliban, Hamas, Muslim Brothers, Al-Qaeda, and others [31.p.76]..

Of course, an important role in the spread of ethnic and religious extremism in this part of the world is played by the prevalence of authoritarian political regimes here. They provoke violence as a form of resolving political contradictions and give it the character of a cultural norm.

Thus, extremism cannot be compared with a virus that humanity has taken from somewhere. This is his internal ailment, generated mainly by disharmonious development in the social, political and cultural fields. However, in themselves inertial processes are only able to create the preconditions for extremism. Turning it into a special ideology and political practice is always the work of specific people and groups.

But here the question arises: if extremist political organizations are so influential, then why do they appear and take root in some areas, but in others they do not? Why, when forming in many areas, do they achieve their own only in some?

Thus, as we see, the causes of extremism are complex (from the economic and political situation in the country to the psychology of the individual and the social group). Therefore, the study and solution of the problems of ethnic and religious extremism should be approached in a comprehensive way, by means of various sciences (religious studies, psychology, sociology, political science), by the forces of public, religious and state organizations. Only through joint efforts, through the prism of different sciences, should the points of harmonious interaction of representatives of different ethnic and religious communities be sought.

It is determined not by biological factors of pro-origin from parents, but by a socio-psychological factor - by the fact that the individual thinks about his origin. If we talk about the whole community, that is, about the collective consciousness, then it will be appropriate to use the term L.N. Gumilev "ethnic dominant" - a system of political, ideological or religious values serving as a unifying principle for the formation of the ethnic system [21.p.87]..

Results

Thus, the ethos is determined not so much by the common features of the members of the collective, existing in reality, as by the commonness of their thinking, in particular, the ethnos is united:

1. The presence of representations shared by members of the group on the general territorial and historical origin, a single language, common features of material and spiritual culture;
2. Politically organized ideas about the fate and special institutions, such as statehood, which can also be considered a part of what constitutes an idea of the people;
3. Feeling of distinctiveness, i.e., awareness by members of the group of their belonging to it, and based on this forms of solidarity and joint actions [8.p178].

The causes of ethnic extremism

By the beginning of the XXI century. on the globe there are practically no monoculture regions, most of the modern countries of the world are complex socio-cultural systems in which representatives of different ethnic cultures and faiths coexist. Moreover, in the modern world, the stratification of the world community on socio-economic indicators into highly developed and underdeveloped countries continues, which also does not contribute to the harmonization of social relations. Dynamic changes occurring in the political, economic, cultural life of the entire world community, hamper the development, harmonious integration of modern formations.

In the rapidly changing unified polycultural systems, social groups began to look for signs that differentiate them from other groups. As one of the most significant signs, which are used by social groups for the purpose of differentiation from others, is ethnic and religious affiliation (religion and inclusion in the community that professes the same religion). The topic of ethnic extremism today is among the most relevant and hotly debated [27.p.98].

In order to understand and correctly determine the nature of measures aimed at "curing" society of manifestations of ethnic and religious extremism, it is necessary to understand the causes and factors that form a favorable environment for this phenomenon of the modern world.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union is associated with the destruction of a single socio-cultural space of the country's population. This put most people in a situation of loss of social identity, which led to a revival of their interest in their primordial, traditional culture of the people and religion. Ethnic and

Religious identification are the most durable and stable social formations.

In a situation of modern instability, when certain social groups collapse and others emerge, the ethnos and religion often serve as a bulwark of permanence for the individual and the group. It is ethnic and religious affiliation that allows a person to feel a stable social and psychological status, therefore, differ-

entiation according to these socio psychological signs seek modern communities and its individual representatives. However, the excessive accentuation of differences in these characteristics becomes a determinant of misunderstanding, intolerance at the level of interpersonal and social relations.

Most often, intolerance and aggression towards other people different from their group are demonstrated by representatives of the younger generation. This is due to a number of socio-psychological reasons.

On the one hand, the characteristics of a person's mental development during the youth period are characterized by a desire for independence, a sense of adulthood, the formation of a worldview, the basis of which is adolescent nihilism. The young generation, demonstrating their independence, independence, denying everything that adults try to pass on to them, want to prove their willingness to solve social problems.

On the other hand, in a modern society oriented to economic values, there are no social institutions that allow young generation to meet their needs for social activity.

A sufficiently flexible world view of the young generation is in the stage of formation, and this is most often used by extremist organizations of different persuasions. Here the young man is given the opportunity to show his adulthood, suggests ways to "effectively", quickly and crucially address social problems. Perhaps, these reasons explain intolerance and aggression towards people different from their group, most often representatives of the younger generation demonstrate such behavior.

Thus, on the one hand, the unification of the modern social space and, as a consequence, the desire of an individual (or a community of people) to emphasize their uniqueness, on the other hand, the socio-psychological characteristics of the growing up of the younger generation, which are accompanied by the lack of an adequate social environment for young people's activities, and active recruitment activities are extremist minded organizations lead to the formation in the environment of modern youth of national and religious intolerance.

However, it is impossible to completely link extremism with changes in the economic and political situation in the country.

On the personal level, the prerequisites of ethnic and religious extremism in the form of growing ethnic aggression, hostility and fear of strangers are caused by changes in social status. Many sociological research recorded an increase in xenophobia and aggressiveness in the minds of people who have lowered their social status (for example, those who lost their jobs). Lowering the

status creates the ground for xenophobia and the growth of aggressive sentiments not only in the lower strata of society, but in all strata.

But "prosperous" societies are not spared the dangers of xenophobia and aggression. There even more pronounced is the law of lofty social needs. The more educated the society, the more in all groups need for comfort, advancement. But not all can satisfy these needs. If the gap between the claims of the individual and the possibilities of satisfying them increases, intolerant and even aggressive attitudes increase. Dissatisfaction usually leads to the search for a "culprit".

In a multi-ethnic society, especially with a high influx of migrants, minorities fall into the "enemy image". But they are even more characterized by frustrations and therefore need the attention of society in the name of non-proliferation of aggressive sentiments and extremism in their midst.

Our society is a society of significant social contrasts. We will not say how many really rich people we have, but how many are poor. Just give an example: in the second half of the 90's. XX century, the highest level of poverty of children in monitoring economic conditions in the Russian Federation (leaders from Russia, PM P. Kozyrev, MS Kosolapov) was recorded in the North Caucasus (40.7%). There were also some of the highest unemployment rates, which together with other reasons could not but affect the growth of extremism and manifestations of terrorism in this region.

Thus, it is not just poverty or a low level of social and economic situation that provokes aggression, creates the ground for extremism, namely social contrasts.

Conclusion

But these social contrasts are experienced by whole groups of people. The disadvantaged, comparing themselves with "others" - prosperous, are not just in despair from poverty, but experience a sense of humiliation or trampled dignity. It is no coincidence that in the developed countries they are trying to increase the middle class to stabilize society and conceive special programs that reduce inequality, although this is not always possible. At the level of the socium, ethnic and religious communities, manifestations of extremism are growing in the periods of modernizations that have begun, but not yet completed, historical changes.

You are in such conditions almost inevitable so-called identity crisis associated with the difficulties of social and cultural self-determination of the individual. The desire to overcome this crisis gives rise to a number of consequences that may be the preconditions for extremism, namely: the interest of people

to consolidate in primary, natural (primordial) communities (ethnic and confessional) is reviving; manifestations of xenophobia increase; The influence of the ideology of traditionalism is growing, often growing into fundamentalism (the idea of "purging from innovations and return to the roots"). All these tendencies are closely related. Thus, the process of consolidation in primordial communities can generate xenophobic growth, because it is based on the same socio-psychological mechanisms of opposing primary communities on the principle of "we are they". To this opposition, at critical periods, a negative evaluation of outsiders ("They are worse than us", "We are the victims of their intrigues") is usually added, since the search for an external enemy, the culprit of "our" troubles is almost inevitable in the conditions of discomfort accompanying historical changes.

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Differences in Skin Tone among Hispanic Inmates in Florida's Prisons

Carmen M. Cusack

Abstract *Socioterritorial conflicts and movements in Bolivia have highlighted the ways to violate the collective rights of indigenous peoples and seem to challenge and dispute the imaginaries of societal / state change that emerged in this country in the past decade, such as "plurinationality", "indigenous autonomy", "Living Well" and "decolonization". In several territories of Bolivia there are strong tensions, some violent, between a vision of "development" and policies of expansion / intensification of extractivism from the State and government and, on the other hand, with demonstrations of defense of community territorialities. It poses a problematization of the current situation in the calls lowlands, where indigenous political subjects would be configuring societal movements based on forms of territorial defense, perhaps, of scope against hegemonic.*

Keywords: *autonomy, collective rights, indigenous territories, neoextractivism*

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The various socio-environmental or socioterritorial conflicts, which are manifested in almost the entire region, have a particularly paradoxical connotation in countries such as Bolivia, where, despite the constitutional recognition of

the plurinational character of the State, there are now signs of re-centralization and restoration monologue of the nation-state hand in hand with a decided process of expansion and intensification of extractivism. This supposes great setbacks in the mandates of plurinational transformation, decolonization and of "Living Well" present in the current constitutional text.

In the previous decade we witnessed a period of articulation of a counter-hegemonic horizon in Bolivia, which was expressed through processes of unification, mobilization and societal articulation (Tapia, 2008) from indigenous community movements, which activated and amalgamated from the defense and it fights for its political-territorial autonomies the anticolonial and the criticism to the "neocolonial continuity" (Rivera, 2010) with the critic to the structures of the monocultural nation-state and the neoliberal capitalism. Thus, one of the elements of this counterhegemonic horizon developed in the rebel cycle (2000-2005) was, among other aspects, the demand and possibility of a plurinational State and the recognition, institution and full exercise of indigenous autonomy in ancestral community territories. that already before, during the nineties, they were recognized as collective lands. one

The transition to a plurinational State with autonomies (specifically ethnic-originary) implied, then, breaking with the monopoly and the pretension of the "monopoly of politics" present in the entire history of the State in Bolivia, that is, the establishment and development of a plurality of spaces and forms of self-government and indigenous autonomies.

However, in the first half of the current decade, there has been a shift away from constituent processes -generated and largely carried out by indigenous movements and other popular forces as a manifestation of social discontent and a challenge not only to the social and economic effects of the neoliberal model, but towards the political system as a whole - towards a scenario in which these actors and social forces will be subordinated or absent at the moment in which the government of Evo Morales began to deploy a policy of expansion of the extractivist model on indigenous territories that, in many cases, already had the character and condition of collective lands and territories constitutionally. This led to a break in the peasant-indigenous alliance in Bolivia, expressed in the Pact of Unity, 2 as evidenced by several territorial conflicts, mainly in

the denominated low lands of this country, as it happened from the conflict of the TIPNIS (Indigenous Territory and Natural Park Isiboro-Sécure).

This has implied that, to a certain extent, the material and historical conditions for the construction of a "plurinational State" from the state structures themselves were being closed or, at least, there was a great setback in that sense, making evident a rearticulation of a neocolonial condition that defines the state reorganization in the region (Tapia, 2011). Thus, a truly counter-hegemonic horizon would be articulating today fundamentally around the community territorial resistances of indigenous peoples, movements and organizations against the expansion of an extractivist economic-territorial model, which predominates in the Bolivian government's state policies and which directly affects territories and community territorialities, confronting rural and indigenous populations, which manifestly claim a defense of their territories and demand the respect and exercise of their collective rights of self-determination.

Therefore, the perspective of open state transformation from cycles of social mobilization in the last decade in Bolivia, which had the premise of the decolonization of the State as a condition for the construction of a "Plurinational State" was, to a great extent, result of the power and resistance of memories of cultures and indigenous and original peoples accumulated during centuries and decades of colonial, republican, nationalist and neoliberal domination, which emerged in a forceful way at the end of the century xx and that, even today, they continue to manifest themselves as community spaces of resistance and territorial nuclei of societal counterhegemony vis-à-vis the State and its territorial policies.

On the one hand, the issue of participation and prior consultation with indigenous peoples (as ...)

In this scenario, the current context in Bolivia is marked, among other aspects, by the reactivation of socioterritorial movements, particularly of indigenous character, in the face of dynamics and extractive activities and exploitation of "natural resources" by the current government on protected areas and / or indigenous territories, and their consequent dynamics of dispossession, specifically in the lowlands of Bolivia, where there is a series of socio-environmental conflicts, intensified by the recent government policies aimed at deepening and expanding the exploitation / exportation of "natural resources" ", Particularly hydrocarbons, without prior consultation and consent 3 that are established in international standards on the rights of peoples and recognized in the Bolivian constitution itself.

This translates into a series of negative effects and impacts on indigenous and rural communities, which reproduce their territoriality and their forms of community life in their ancestral territories. However, as pointed out by Molina (2016), prior consultation, among other mechanisms to face indigenous conflicts arising from territorial defense and extractivist progress, generates the division of indigenous organizations. As we will see later, in the case of the conflict over the TIPNIS, the subject of prior consultation and consent, the paradox of how this international legal instrument, conceived to guarantee the collective rights of indigenous peoples, will become a mechanism that will allow penetrate, condition and even divide the communities of a territory, making this right recognized a strategy of the *intelligenza* of a pattern of capitalist accumulation (with the legal and institutional platform of the State) to legitimize extractive projects and processes of socio-territorial dispossession.

David Harvey raises the concept of accumulation by dispossession, which consists of the use of methods (...)

These processes of capitalist expansion through an extractivist pattern, through the modality-following Harvey (2004) - of "accumulation by dispossession" 4 on community territories, have been generating or accentuating in recent years the reactivation of collective action and territorial defense. Precisely some socio-territorial conflicts directly confront the governmental vision of "development" and with rhetorical contents of a developmentalist profile, in front of a diversity of cosmovisions, community and / or ancestral territorialities, as well as a diversity of positions on the part of indigenous social actors of those territories, those that claim collective rights to self-determination and prior consultation on activities that affect their communities, territorialities and ways of life. This situation has recently been accentuated by the decision of the Bolivian government to allow and promote the exploration / exploitation of energy resources -especially hydrocarbons- in "protected areas".

A critical approach to the current situation in the lowlands of Bolivia is proposed, where indigenous political subjects would be configuring societal and socioterritorial movements of anti-neocolonial and counterhegemonic scope, starting from the processes of resistance, *r-existence* (Porto Gonçalves, 2013) and defense of their collective rights, their territories and territorialities. Likewise, it is proposed to problematize the relationship / tension between indigenous organizations and the State, specifically in the last MAS governments, from analyzing some specific cases such as the conflict - still in force - in

the TIPNIS and the struggle of the Guaraní people in the Chaco in a context of expansion and intensification of extractive policies.

Brief considerations on the context

Bolivia is currently the second country with the largest indigenous population in all of South America, after Peru, and the first one at the subcontinental level with the highest percentage of indigenous population in relation to the total population of the country. Although Bolivia is generally considered as an eminently Andean, highland, Quechua and Aymara country, most of the territory comprises what is called lowland, in particular what is included in the macro-regions of the Amazon, Chiquitania and Chaco, where coexist 34 indigenous peoples. It is precisely this condition of ethnic, cultural and multisocietal diversity (Tapia, 2002) that constitutes Bolivia as a country with a plurinational character. What is today called constitutionally Plurinational state It expresses this multisocial condition, at the same time as it is the result of a process of historical accumulation of crisis cycles and social, political, cultural and territorial struggles that have been happening from the colonial era to the present, where the different moments of history of this country presents a large number and meanings of sociopolitical events and processes that were shaping and transforming the collective imaginary of a country with a "variegated social conformation" (Zavaleta Mercado, 1985).

At the end of the nineties, the symptoms of the crisis of the neoliberal model and its economic, social and political effects began to manifest themselves in Bolivia. Thus, it initiates a "cycle of protests" (Tarrow, 2009) or a "rebel cycle" (Gutiérrez Aguilar, 2015) based on the collective action of social movements, popular organizations and indigenous peoples that carried a discourse that would not be limited to a criticism of the governments in turn, but reveals the vacuum of hegemony that left the political system and its partisan actors, who had alternated in the powers of the State for 15 years. Thus, the social demand in the political field, in addition to the conjunctural rejection of neoliberal state policies and a system of parties with strong signs of political illegitimacy, were aimed at questioning and challenging the structural bases of the political system and, in some cases, cases, of the very assumptions of the nation-state because of its character and not only neoliberal but monocultural, excluding and neocolonial, which among other demands would require state reform or refoundation (Santos 2010), through a Constituent Assembly (2006-2007). Thus, the century xxi it opens in Bolivia with a cycle of social rebellions that configure "societal movements" (Tapia 2008), where the assumptions of

the nation-state and the "pact" with society, that is, its "primordial form" (Zavaleta Mercado, 1982).

What was called the agenda of October, result of the cycle of social rebellion (2000-2005) had (...)

This cycle of social rebellions, which has as one of its corollaries the establishment of a popular agenda, had the peculiarity of questioning not only the economic and social policies of the governments of the neoliberal stage, denouncing its resounding failure in the country, but the repression and the response from the power of the State produced a rapid articulation of several temporalities or cycles of mobilization and political rebellion, coming to demand the structural transformation of the State. In 2005 the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) and Evo Morales were elected, and the so-called "process of change" began in Bolivia. Ten years have passed since Evo Morales became president of Bolivia, and today he is in his third term, backed by 64% of the votes in December 2009 and by 61% in October 2014; "There will be few Latin American governments that have been characterized by strong political-symbolic ruptures and great social and regional difficulties and conflicts such as the Morales government" (Svampa, 2010).

Since the approval and promulgation in 2009 of a New Political Constitution of the State as a result of the realization of the Constituent Assembly (2006-2007), of an intense process of political crisis and of a cycle of social mobilization that experienced the country since the beginning of the century xxi, the character of its statehood has been transformed (constitutionally), which would also have been the product of a crisis of the nation-state. The central nucleus of the state transformation, which establishes the new constitutional framework, will be the plurinational State character that is recognized and instituted in the country and that is the basis and the horizon of construction of a new political institutionality and the reference that would summarize the new "social pact" that allows "refounding the State" in Bolivia (Santos, 2010).

One of the central aspects that structurally reconfigures the character of the new Bolivian statehood, related to the very sustenance of the character of plurinationality, has to do with the recognition of the pre-existence of the indigenous and native peoples and nations. This point implies not only the formal recognition of cultural diversity but a challenge of great societal complexity, as a political and government model, which is what allowed, along with the other innovative aspects, to characterize the current Constitution of Bolivia as the vanguard of the then called "transformational constitutionalism" (Santos,

2010). The organization and territorial structure of the Plurinational State of Bolivia has been the object of an important and transcendental change and innovation, when moving towards a State with a complex and complex typology, since it is defined as unitary and autonomous at the same time, that although not It is new within the modalities of statehood at the international level, it is a great innovation for the recognition of Indigenous Peasant Native Autonomy (AIOC) in its territorial structure.

Likewise, two transversal axes are key to understand the transforming nature of the current Bolivian Constitution, as the notion of "Living Well" as a principle and constitutional philosophy that would have been inspired by ideas of community matrix, and an alternative horizon to the idea of "development" conventional and in harmony with nature. However, the challenges of materializing the construction of a plurinational State entered into contradiction in recent years, among other things with the vision of the MAS government to monopolize political life, while consolidating an economic pattern based on extractivism, which will mark a conflicting socio-political context in recent years.

The indigenous irruption in the lowlands of Bolivia

In the 1980s, a critique of internal colonialism would be deployed in Bolivia (Gonzalez Casanova, 1969, Rivera, 2010), understood as an intra-state modality of reproducing colonial schemes of exclusion, subalternization and domination in particular towards indigenous subjects, through logics and systematic practices of state coloniality. Later, in the nineties social challenges to neoliberalism were manifested by various social movements, in particular of indigenous and peasant character and with the capacity to influence the political field of the State. These forms of community organization and unification that were denied, repressed or persecuted during the dictatorial period, returned to public political life with the recovery of democracy in the early eighties, and had a process of strengthening from its socioterritorial bases during the nineties and with force since 2000 in this country. These were constituted as fundamental entities for the articulation of lowland indigenous peoples and organizations, such as the Confederation of the Indigenous Peoples of the Bolivian East (CIDOB). The emergence of these parent organizations of peasants and indigenous peoples represents a break with the syndicalist schemes - in particular peasant unionism - of sociopolitical organization inherited from the nationalism that the nation-state held in Bolivia.

It was in this context that, in the face of the neoliberal recomposition of internal colonialism in Bolivia, the reconstitution of several social subjects, such

as the process of organization and unification of indigenous peoples, was deployed as a historical accumulation, more or less long, of lowlands, which previously had not experienced such a degree of articulation, unification and intercultural organization. In this way, there was a set of processes of organization of the centers and assemblies of the indigenous peoples that make up the CIDOB and, at the same time, processes of unification within each town and culture that have, maintain or reconstitute a form authority of their culture, which "emerge in a self-organized manner and with capacity for self-representation a set of collectivities, peoples and cultures that before they did not exist for the State and the rest of the civil society, who thought those territories as wild tribes" (Chavez et al., 2013: 51).

During the eighties and nineties, other forms and structures of political-cultural and territorial authority were manifested and made visible in the socio-political scenario of Bolivia, not only beyond the margins and limits of political-territorial control of the State, but organizational forms of community matrix that question and demand the recognition of their collective rights as peoples and nations, as well as respect for their "territoriality", which was subject to the dynamics and effects of commodification and consequent looting under the schemes neoliberals. This was clearly manifested in the March for the Territory and Dignity convened in 1990 by lowland indigenous peoples and organizations in Bolivia.

From this historic indigenous mobilization convened in 1990, for the first time the Bolivian State recognizes indigenous people, particularly those from the lowlands, as valid interlocutors, which will later result in the recognition of property rights and administration of ancestral territories, through an important reform that took place at the level of the territorial structure with the recognition of the Communal Lands of Origin (TCO) as a form of collective property of the land. Thus, from 1990 until today there have been almost a dozen indigenous marches, which implies that there is a struggle and sustained criticism of the structures of domination and reproduction of modalities of "internal colonialism" (González Casanova, 1969) in the country., which will be assumed by indigenous movements as self-determination in their territories.

The organizational development and the mobilization repertoires of the indigenous peoples of the lowlands was a fundamental aspect within a new wave of organizational processes and re-politicization on the part of "civil society" in Bolivia, from organizations that represent other societies that were subalternized from the colony, during the formation of the postcolonial liberal

republic and during the periods of the nation-state and the neoliberal state, in a neocolonial way. In this sense, the set of processes of organization and mobilization of the indigenous peoples of the lowlands has been a fundamental factor, although not the only one, which led to a series of constitutional reforms during the 1990s.

With the current CPE approved in 2009, the TCOs were re-named as Indigenous Peasant Territories (TIOC), which also constitute a concrete modality to transition to the condition of Indigenous Peasant Native Autonomy (AIOC). A) Yes, both plurinationality and indigenous autonomy, established as central and innovative aspects of the current Bolivian Constitution, would not be the product of the *intelligenza* of the State or the imagination of the MAS government, but the fruit of collective imaginary, historical demands and political struggles of indigenous social movements, for their politico- territorial autonomy claimed against the nation-state.

From these community-ancestral social movements have emerged several, if not the most important, socio-political imaginaries and the principles of the current process of state transformation in this country. Thus, within the edges presented by the so-called Bolivian "process of change", which had as its central core the constitutional mandate for the construction of the Plurinational, Community and Autonomic State, the figure of indigenous autonomy is a fundamental pillar. From these social movements and the opening of a process of state transformation, through a "constitutive moment" (Zavaleta Mercado, 1985) have been configured as true "societal movements" (Tapia, 2008), which still continue in force as forms of protest, rebellion and social mobilization that they question and disrupt the very nature of the nation-state, by questioning its policies and ways of reproducing inequality between peoples and cultures.

Likewise, these community demands and politico-territorial demands of indigenous movements, with a societal character, return today with strong criticism of the orientation and direction taken by the aforementioned "process of change" in this country and the government of Evo Morales, which is contested by indigenous organizations, among other questions for having monopolized the State and recentralized the policy in the country and breach the constitutional mandate of plurinational transformation of the State. In this way, several indigenous movements were demanding a reorientation of the so-called "process of change" towards the transforming contents and meanings of the State and the materialization of the plurinational premise and decolonizing horizon that emerged in the country at the beginning of this century. Thus,

socioterritorial movements of indigenous character are currently returning to constitute political subjects with the capacity to mobilize and interpellate the State, configuring in turn socio-territorial nuclei of societal counterhegemony in this country.

Indigenous re-emergence as a societal movement in Bolivia

For some years now, the scenario where social, environmental and social-territorial conflicts have been manifested is precisely in the lowland regions of the country, where indigenous and community movements are organized and mobilized mainly around the defense of their rights. territorialities and their collective rights. Some of these conflicts and movements express actions of defense, mobilization and socioterritorial disputes against policies of expansion and extractive intensification by the MAS government. Among the most recent and expressive highlights the conflict over the indigenous defense of the TIPNIS (Indigenous Territory and Isiboro-Sécure National Park) in part of the Amazon region of the country, which had as its maximum moment of visibility the two indigenous marches (2011 and 2012) in defense of this territory against government plans for the imposition of a road as part of geopolitical infrastructure projects aimed at extraction. Another of these movements of territorial resistance occurs with the struggle for territorial rights and indigenous autonomy of the Guaraní people in the Bolivian Chaco region, in the face of government policies aimed at limiting / subordinating autonomy or with interventions to guarantee extraction projects, mainly hydrocarbons, violating recognized collective rights.

These "socio-environmental conflicts" (Martínez Alier, 2004) have generated actions of territorial defense by the indigenous populations and of vindication of their collective rights, against the current policies of expansion of an extractive modality of capitalist accumulation by the government Bolivian, making evident at the same time contradictions and setbacks around constitutional mandates / principles, such as the "plurinationality of the State" itself and the imaginary of "Living Well" or "decolonization", through the imposition of a state and governmental vision of developing. In this way, a wave of social resistance is generated in these territories and local spaces, identified as socioterritorial movements, which in turn reactivate anticolonial and societal movements that arise as part of the "eco-territorial turn" (Svampa, 2012). the social movements in Latin America. These are ways to reactivate the collective action of socioterritorial subjects that challenge part of the policies and plans of the ruling MAS party, which along the lines of the so-called "progressive govern-

ments", as Gandarillas (2016) points out, "supports the economic model anchored in the exportation of raw materials, which benefit Finally, the multinational power groups, because of this, move away from popular sectors that are affected or oppose their policies "(2016: 114).

The indigenous defense of the TIPNIS. An open wound and a current fight

The unilateral determination in 2010 by the government of Evo Morales to build a road from Villa Tunari (Cochabamba) to San Ignacio de Moxos (Beni) unleashed a deep controversy in this country in recent years, based on the reaction of indigenous organizations to prevent this road from passing through the core of the TIPNIS (Indigenous Territory and Isiboro-Sécure National Park), demanding respect for indigenous territoriality and the respective prior consultation of indigenous peoples, as established in the current Bolivian Constitution and norms international organizations such as ILO Convention 169 or the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Thus, the TIPNIS, in addition to constituting a territory protected by national regulations due to its status as a natural park (protected area), is claimed by the local populations for being "indigenous territory", protected by international conventions as part of the fundamental rights of indigenous peoples and nations, as well as the Bolivian constitutional text.

This conflict will not only unfold of a dispute over a projected highway without the corresponding prior consultation, or a particular tension between the MAS government and the indigenous communities and organizations of the TIPNIS, but it will imply a background that shows a contrast between productive practices, economic dynamics, visions on development and territorial logics of different and incompatible scale (Paz, 2012), since in the TIPNIS it is possible to identify the presence and overlap of different logics or development models that express different economic-territorialvisions and that "they are linked in a different way with the development proposals promoted by the government of Evo Morales" (Paz, 2012: 14 ff.).

On the one hand, there is an economic logic that has its material bases in what it calls the "Amazonian ethnic economy" on the part of the indigenous communities that develops based on the collective use, access and use of forest goods collectively., from a community territorial management, that is to say, a certain territoriality built ancestrally by the peoples that inhabit this territory. On the other hand, there is an economic logic that has material bases in the economy of coca leaf production, which is driven by the Andean colonizers and that develops based on the axis of use and use of forest goods in the form individual-mercantile (Soto, 2011). Finally, there would be the vision of the State,

which based on a logic of territorial "control" has historically tried to establish a presence in the TIPNIS, deploying different policies of "occupation" of the territory.

Figure 1 - TIPNIS (Indigenous Territory and Isiboro-Sécure Natural Park)

Increase Original (png, 75k)

Source: self made.

The IIRSA, is the acronym for the Initiative for the Integration of Regional Infrastructure Suramer (...)

In this way, since the second period MAS government (2009-2014), this state vision has taken a new momentum with new features and socio - territorial effects, from which can identify a nationalistic state policy and neoextractivista. Thus, the policies that project and promote the construction of a highway are part of a governmental vision of development that revolves around an economic model of capitalist expansion based predominantly on extractive dynamics, mainly exploitation / exportation of hydrocarbons and energy, as well as Infrastructure development plans for the extraction that would be linked to regional megaprojects under the IIRSA / COSIPLAN. 6 Thus, the government of Evo Morales, in fact, promotes the deployment of an economic model that ends up deepening the trend to economic outlets that are based on a primary export model. The conflict of the TIPNIS perhaps expresses exactly that: indigenous populations that reject the central plans of the extractive economic policy of dispossession, destroying their territory and their ways of life. Likewise, the TIPNIS conflict made visible mechanisms of territorial expansion and capitalist accumulation that extend market relations, progressively integrating the indigenous territory into the economic space of coca production, and also placed on the geopolitical map oil, mining and other capitals. of the financial speculation generated by the class struggle (Molina, 2016).

As a result of the VIII Indigenous March in defense of the TIPNIS, the government signed an agreement with the marchers in which, in part, it undertook to "agree" on future laws that involve indigenous peoples, especially those related to hydrocarbons, and elaborate a general law of consultation with indigenous peoples. In this sense, as the study by Ortiz and Costas (2010) points out, beyond the advantages and disadvantages of the government road project, it suffered from a crucial flaw: its promoters failed to comply with the "right to prior consultation" with indigenous people.. This right is enshrined in the Constitution and is endorsed by Convention 169 of the International Labor Organi-

zation (ILO), recognized by the Bolivian State; "No government authority has asked our opinion on the road, even though we support the government", then he claimed an indigenous leader of the TIPNIS.

In the vast majority of Latin American countries, greater awareness has been created about the obligator (...)

In this scenario, the debate arose about the "binding" nature or not of the consultation, in which the indigenous communities of the TIPNIS and part of the community organizations of the lowlands question the government's understanding that Consultation to the peoples indigenous is not binding. 7 It is from here that it is possible to begin to glimpse the institutional dilemmas of the "Plurinational State" and the political positions that "reason" their institutional life without the radical consequences of the political principle of "self-determination", the right to autonomy and self-government

The conflict around the TIPNIS, as a "problem" still unresolved and an open debate and dispute in Bolivia, presents a great complexity in terms of the multiple dimensions involved (territorial, economic, sociocultural, political) structurally traversed by the "Tension of territorialities" (Porto-Gonçalves et al., 2013) as a base element on which the spatio-temporal senses of these dimensions unfold. In this sense, it is also important to highlight the dimension referring to the sociopolitical contours that will emerge with the conflict around the TIPNIS, which help us in part to understand the current political context that Bolivia is going through, particularly referring to the relationship of social movements of matrix indigenous communities with state and government structures, that this conflict reconfigures from tensions and disputes over territory and territoriality, as an essentially political and societal dimension.

There is no doubt that one of the points of inflection or moments of crisis of the so-called "process of change" in Bolivia is marked by the socioterritorial conflict of the TIPNIS, which quickly becomes a socio-political macro-conflict. Given that, of the plurality of conflicts that will be manifested during the second term of Evo Morales, which are mostly related to social disagreements about government policies and post-constitutional norms (Chavez et al., 2013; Wanderley, 2013), the most intense moment of political ruptures occurred around the TIPNIS conflict since 2011, as "a set of deep-seated ruptures and ruptures, to a certain extent irreversible, not only between indigenous organizations and the government, but also inside Bolivian society itself [which represented the rupture and end of the Unity Pact] and of confrontations between indigenous communities with fractions of the peasant movement and settler-cocalero" (Chávez et al., 2013).

The indigenous mobilization in defense of the TIPNIS, of the indigenous lowland organizations and the subsequent repressive governmental reactions, will make visible a series of "contradictions" between the official discourse of the government, in particular, referred to, then, its supposed character of "government of social movements" and an orientation and political practice with authoritarian features and, perhaps, at moments explicitly of anti-indigenous and neocolonial profile (Tapia, 2011). Thus, the TIPNIS conflict, by questioning the governmental perspective on the "plurinational" nature of the State and the collective rights of indigenous peoples, reinstated a debate in the country around the very orientation of the State, the nation and the nation. policy, and consequently the orientation of the so-called "process of change" in Bolivia, as well as the way of configuring state-society relations within the framework of a current policy of neo-extractive exacerbation.

From the conflict for the defense of the TIPNIS it is also possible to demonstrate, first, a distancing and then a rupture of relations, alliances and agreements that had been established and articulated since 2005 between the indigenous organizations and the MAS government with Evo Morales at the head, which will result from the deployment of the main axis of contradiction that organizes political relations in the country today (Tapia, 2011). This expresses, as mentioned above, the clash not only of two economic and territorial visions, but also of two "projects of different matrix and civilizational orientation" (Porto-Gonçalves et al. , 2013), in which one implies the destruction of the other. On the one hand, the central nucleus of the project of the ruling party, consisting of a developmental state vision of a capitalist matrix and with an extractivist nucleus. A state vision that would contain a tripartite scheme: an expansion of state capitalism in interaction with transnational capital, based on the extraction of natural resources as raw materials, particularly hydrocarbons; an articulation with national private capital linked to agribusiness, and an expansion of the agricultural frontier, mainly coca, with an Andean entrepreneurial class and peasant turned into small, medium and large entrepreneurs. On the other hand, there would be the vision from the indigenous subjects, with a political project deployed long ago, which consists of the defense and recovery of indigenous territories, in which the diversity of cultures of the peoples living in the lowlands of Bolivia can be reproduced and displayed and the defense of their recognized territorial rights, which is what that puts the most important limits to capitalist expansion (Tapia, 2012) and the dynamics of "accumulation by dispossession" in full deployment in the country.

As Joensen (2015: 38) suggests, conflict of ITNPIS shows how the "neo - liberalism has adapted to the new realities in globalization and new left not only a limitation not present them, but they are functional. The ideas of modernization, growth and development indispensable for capital are still valid within visions that continue to suffer from epistemic colonialism ".

In this context, although the tension between indigenous lowland organizations in Bolivia and the government of Evo Morales, especially since his second term in office (2009-2014), was marked by moments of tension, contradictions and fissures, from of the indigenous mobilization in defense of the TIPNIS, since 2011, these relations ended in irreconcilable ruptures to the present. These ruptures are marked dramatically with authoritarian and repressive episodes by the government. This series of governmental attacks on the part of the indigenous actors of Bolivia configures a facet of curiously "anti-indigenous" features from governmental structures that make visible a line or tendency from the State itself, of denying these actors the status of autonomous subjects, that is to say of "political subjects", bearers of visions, interests and own projects (Tapia, 2012), which expresses one of the most authoritarian facets of the current ruling party: the denial of autonomy to indigenous peoples.

Currently, this anti-indigenous facet of the MAS government is manifested in the recent abrogation of Law 180, which is considered a social conquest of the VIII Indigenous March of 2011 to establish the protection and intangibility of this indigenous territory and area protected, which prevented the construction of projects such as the aforementioned road. By repealing this rule, despite the mobilizations of the indigenous peoples and organizations of the TIPNIS and the enactment of Law 969 of August 2017, the alleged "protection, integral and sustainable development of the TIPNIS" is declared, although in the contents specific to its articles, it becomes evident how this territory is again left unprotected when it is opened to exploitation and commodification activities, mainly of its natural wealth, by national and transnational capitals, since it enables extractive projects (Article 6 and Article 8, Law 969) and the use of natural resources by private parties (Article 12), among other provisions that show how this law points to a flagrant setback in what was achieved and conquered in terms of the socio-territorial protection of this territory.

The autonomy Guaraní Indian: between subordination and self - determination

Regarding the issue of indigenous autonomies, which has been one of the most controversial of the constituent process and the post-constitutional period of the last decade in Bolivia, it had as one of the main protagonists the Guaraní

people and their parent organization, the Assembly of the Guaraní People (APG), with the demand for the reconstitution of its territory through the figure of political-territorial autonomy, but that also had as a background the tension with the State to consolidate that autonomy in a context of permanent conflict around territorial rights and in particular the right to prior consultation, as well as tensions with extractive companies, mainly of exploitation of hydrocarbons in the territories of the Guaraní people in various areas of the Bolivian Chaco region, where the largest amount of gas and oil in the country is located.

Thus, once the new Political Constitution of the State was approved in Bolivia and with the opening of the post-constituent period, beginning in 2009, a growing tension began to emerge between the government of Evo Morales and the indigenous and campesino-indigenous movements, in around disputes over territories and "natural resources", where it is possible to observe how the collective actions of the Guaraní people, in dispute over their territories and natural resources, enabled a process of identity reconfiguration as a people (Wahren, 2012). The issue of indigenous autonomy thus appears as a concrete horizon of the collective actions of the Guaraní people and organization and their community bases in their ancestral territories, as well as the demands for territorial recognition, the defense of natural resources and a "plurinational State". With this demand, the Guaraní nation demanded not only territorial autonomy but also its vision had claiming horizons that have to do, in a certain dimension, with the reconstitution of their ancestral territory which involves, in some way, a community control over natural resources that are in the subsoil.

In this sense, together with the demand for political-territorial autonomy, the Guaraní people demanded that the State respect the right to be consulted on the exploitation of natural resources (hydrocarbons), and to be compensated for their socio-environmental impacts. Thus, the situation that occurs in the Guaraní territory, where the largest percentage of all hydrocarbon reserves in Bolivia and where they currently operate the largest fields of hydrocarbon exploitation, promoted by the government, in charge of transnational corporations, is particularly problematic. oil extractions and from the state company YPFB. Thus, the demands and demands of the Guaraní people, referred to the full exercise of their collective rights and the growing demand for territorial and political autonomy, they have as a central axis the reconstitution of their original territory, which expresses the reconstitution of their collective identity as a people and as a political subject that claims self-government.

With the new legal political scenario configured in Bolivia from the promulgation of the current Political Constitution of the State (2009), and in particular in the theme of territorial organization and a new regional regime with the approval of the Framework Law of Autonomies and Decentralization (LMAD) (2010), in December 2009, eleven municipalities, through a referendum, were instituted as indigenous autonomies in the country, thus initiating their autonomy process. In the case of the Guaraní territory in the Bolivian Chaco, the municipality of Charagua (in the department of Santa Cruz) developed its autonomic process, specifically referring to the elaboration of its "statutes" of indigenous autonomy. Processes that will mean intense consultation and discussion processes in the communities and their organizational instances, and where at the same time a set of principles, meanings and worldview are expressed as a people.

This process was full of tensions and a network of political strategies by the MAS government aimed at controlling it. In the context of the elaboration of its autonomous status, like that of the LMAD itself, it can be identified, according to Garcés (2013), at least two positions between the MAS government and indigenous organizations; On the part of the former, the will to "reduce" the scope of indigenous autonomy is made clear, while organizations demand that his autonomy be full; that is, that expresses his right to self-determination and self-government. As the case of the autonomous process of the Guaraní people in Charagua shows, this indigenous autonomic process, having met all the requirements demanded by the CPE and the LMAD to exercise its self-government, within the framework of what is legally required, clashes with the modalities, obstacles and delays on the part of the state agencies in relation to this process of indigenous autonomy, which gave account of a state policy aimed at subordinating, under an institutionalist and systematic logic, bureaucratic control from state instances of the State, the nature and scope of said indigenous autonomy (Exeni, 2015, López, 2017).

Referring to the Supreme Decree n.º 2366 (2015) of the MAS government to allow *aprovechami* (...)

Also, a The specific issue that has been claimed and demanded by the Guaraní people is the exercise of the right to prior consultation for the consent or not of any activity related to the exploitation of natural resources, particularly hydrocarbons, in their territory. This situation of permanent siege and authoritarian imposition of an "extractive territoriality" (Wahren, 2012) in the Bolivian Chaco and systematic violation of recognized collective rights of the communities that inhabit it became evident in the recent conflict of the Community Land

of Origin (TCO) Guaraní Takovo Mora in the Chaco region of the department of Santa Cruz, where the indigenous communities of the Guaraní people mobilized in the defense of their legally recognized community territory, in the face of new government regulations 8 that allow the exploration and exploitation of hydrocarbons in the 22 protected areas of the country, including this indigenous territory.

This mobilization of the communities and indigenous Guaraní organization of Takovo Mora demands, as in the case of the TIPNIS, the realization by the State and the government of the respective prior consultation, as a collective right established in the current Bolivian Constitution, in relationship with hydrocarbon exploitation projects by state company YPFB. In this way, the indigenous communities of this territory demanded to be consulted about the exploitation of natural resources and demanded a compensation for the environmental damages in their territory. This also shows a complexity of positions and visions within the indigenous organizations themselves regarding the prior consultation and the mechanisms of participation and compensatory "benefits" that can be obtained or not from the process for the communities (Schilling-Vacaflor, 2014).

However, one of the aspects that caused the indignation of the indigenous peoples of the lowlands, of the rest of the community organizations and of the Bolivian population in general, was the brutal repression with which the current MAS government responded to the mobilization of the indigenous Guaraní communities of Takovo Mora. This new repressive action on the part of the government reissued what happened four years ago (September 2011) with the brutal and planned repression in the town of Chaparina to the VIII Indigenous March in defense of the TIPNIS and made evident, once again, perhaps the authoritarian and anti-indigenous facet of the Bolivian government, through the use and monopoly of force (police) to apply and impose, in an unconsulted, undemocratic and unconstitutional way, its vision of territorial policy, in this case, to make viable its settled extractive policy in the exploitation / export of hydrocarbons predominant in the Bolivian Chaco region.

In this sense, the difficulties and limits in the recognition of indigenous territories are directly associated to these disputes with the extractive policies, since the strategic zones for the extraction of oil and gas are located in the ancestral territory of the Guaraní nation. of the Bolivian Chaco. This is one of the main reasons why the issue of collective rights, in particular the right to prior consultation directly linked to the right to self-determination and the constitu-

tional mandate of indigenous autonomy, is one of the most tense and dispute of the country at present.

Conclusion

Since the beginning of this decade, the re-emergence of socioterritorial movements has been manifested in Bolivia, mainly around the so-called "socio-environmental conflicts" (Martínez Alier, 2004), as in the case of the TIPNIS conflict, specifically carried out by indigenous movements on the part of the Bolivian Amazon, but also these socioterritorial movements seem to configure, again, societal movements (Tapia, 2008), the same ones that affirm themselves as part of the "Plurinational State" that is increasingly distant in its materialization, and this they do so with the emphasis on claiming their own territoriality as peoples and demanding the full exercise of their collective (recognized) rights of self-determination and self-government. In the cases that we briefly address, it would be social movements that demand autonomy, within the framework of a plurinational State that these same actors would have promoted in the dawn of this century in Bolivia.

In recent years, in Bolivia, a truly counter-hegemonic horizon would be articulated fundamentally around the communal territorial resistances of indigenous peoples and movements against the expansion of an extractive model, promoted as a form of capitalist accumulation and expansion from the State itself, which not only affects ecosystems irreversibly, but displaces and diverts territories, populations and cultures. These territorial defense movements, at the same time, express a defense of their collective rights of self-determination and self-government. In that sense, the wave of expansion of the counter-hegemonic horizon that opened in the Bolivian founding conjuncture at the beginning of the 21st century and produced a constituent assembly and structural reforms of the State in Bolivia, at present it would be retreating to the nuclei of indigenous resistance that manifest themselves in the lowlands.

What became evident with the conflict of the TIPNIS and the clear position of the current Bolivian government, would be perhaps forms of denial and blockade of the very nature of indigenous autonomy established in the Political Constitution of the State (CPE), which includes the ILO Convention 169 and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, that recognize the fundamental right of the original peoples and nations to their self-determination. This principle of self-determination, in the case of the autonomic process of the Guaraní people and particularly in the TIPNIS conflict, will have been violated and violated. On the one hand, since there has not been a real, consensual and transparent process of prior consultation, as established by national and inter-

national standards, and on the other hand, ignoring the historical and representative organizations of indigenous peoples.

Currently in Bolivia, we would be witnessing a complex moment of dispute over the exercise of indigenous autonomy and the exercise of collective rights of indigenous peoples, which also implies a possible closure of the conditions for the possibility of implementing state plurinationality as a societal horizon, where social demands, resistances and indigenous political-territorial struggles such as those that arise in the lowlands can not be understood separately from processes of socio-cultural, political and territorial decolonization and overcoming old patterns of the State -nation. This is what I would have assumed and shaped the current Bolivian Constitution, which nevertheless finds its own limits in the same State and in some of the current policies of the MAS government. In any case, the community forms of practicing the territory, of non-destructive social relations of nature and other forms of socio-political practices, seem to continue to be present in the communities and in their demands for collective rights, in their resistances and socio-territorial re-existences and in its constructions and autonomous horizons.

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Book Reviews

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This item has received

The inclusion of environmental issues in geography, in general, and in historical geography in particular, provides a greater potential for analysis and an explanatory power that far exceeds the results of the partition of knowledge. The society-environment relationship, which is at the center of geographic research (Davis, 2011), is based on the incorporation of biophysical and social knowledge into one. The same title of the work reviewed here suggests this integration that has sometimes been ignored but has a long tradition within geography. To cite an example, Carl O. Sauer (2009 [1941]: 21) in your text Towards a historical geography He mentions that "who exercises human geography and can not observe and interpret physical data in relation to his studies of human economies, has only limited competence." His idea of a historical geography as an analysis of origins and processes, is supported by the statement that both human geography and history are not very different fields but different approaches to the same problem.

In this sense, as mentioned Fernández (2012) In the presentation of the work reviewed here, one of its main contributions is to present the conciliation of different dilemmas in geography through several investigations where the differences between physical and human geography are not perceived. Showing that exceeding disciplinary borders gives a greater analytical capacity. To do the skills of the author to incorporate these areas of knowledge are highlighted that following the proposal cited above Sauer, integrate an exhaustive field work and archival work to find the landscape of the past hidden behind the scenery of this (Sauer, 2009 [1941]).

Gustavo G. Garza Merodio has done extensive research in this line as for example in his doctoral thesis Evolution in the landscape of the Basin of Mexico during the Spanish domination and in his study on historical climatology, of which he presents a synthesis in the volume reviewed. He carried out his doctorate at the University of Barcelona in Geography and History. He is currently a

researcher at the Geography Institute of the National Autonomous University of Mexico and teaches undergraduate and graduate programs in Geography in subjects such as Landscape Evolution and Cultural Heritage and Environmental History at the same university. His research interests are Historical Geography, Cultural Geography, Paleo environmental Studies and Historical Climatology Studies.

As for the structure of the book, it is divided into a succinct introduction, a first chapter on the general and above all theoretical aspects of historical geography and the environment; to then develop three chapters with examples of historical geography studies in Mexico about the society-medium relationship.

In the brief introduction the author focuses on the importance of environmental issues for the geography and in particular for historical geography. So that the latter can be considered as a "theoretical vehicle in the understanding of the society-environment relationship" (Garza, 2012a : 17); relationship whose knowledge allows to recognize "the causes of anthropic origin in the alterations suffered by the environment" (Ibid.:18).

The first chapter presents a summary of the development of historical geography as well as its importance "in the understanding of environmental issues and the theoretical and methodological limitations that have impeded an appreciation of this discipline in the solution of environmental problems" (Ibid. : 27). And mention is made of new paradigms that have led historical geography to integrate new knowledge and renew its approach, such as the consideration of social, economic, ideological and cultural relations in the analysis of space and as factors that affect the absence or presence of elements in space. Another general aspect that the author alludes to are the spatial and temporal scales as necessary analysis elements in a temporal examination of the geographic processes.

From the above, the chapter is divided into four sections that address theoretical, methodological issues and contextualize the three chapters that present concrete results of the author's research. In the first section entitled "Landscape, territory and historical geography", the conception raised by the author of the "landscape" is highlighted as a methodological possibility for the analysis of space, not as a portion of it, and a brief description of the schools that have used the landscape as a guiding concept in their studies. Continues with the definition of territory and its historical component in their shape over time, like the previous concept of landscape, are the basis for studies in historical geography. In this way, it is shown that being geographically interdisciplinary

from the beginning, geography finds in landscape studies one of its best analytical tools due to its integral nature (Ibid.:38). To conclude this section, the author introduces seven approaches that summarize the definition of historical and cultural geography for the work that allow, in addition, to differentiate the geographical task of other disciplines and where it stands out, for example, the importance of the revision of the cartography of all times and field work.

A second section called "Evolution of the landscape and the territory", is a synthesis of the evolution of the landscape and the organization of the territory in Mexico during the last five hundred years divided into four very general stages. It begins with the late post-classic, with the altepetl as the basic political-territorial structure in Mesoamerica; continues with the Spanish domination initiated in the century xvi, stage that extends to the century xix the changes in the means and modes of production were not transcendental; the next stage extends from the consolidation of the liberal regimes (1870) to the post-revolutionary governments (1920), with rail and other technical innovations transforming the landscape and organizing the territory; and finally, the consolidation stage of the postrevolutionary governments (1930-1940) up to the present, with the advent of neoliberalism and the dismantling of the State.

The next section, "The school of Annales and the analysis of duration", although shorter than the previous ones, delves into the theoretical-methodological possibilities of the historiographic school of the Annales, as well as in the proposals of the different durations that are fundamental in the construction and evolution of the landscape and the organization of the territory.

Finally, "Cultural rotation and spatialization of social science: historical geography, cultural geography and the environment" develops the link between historical geography and cultural geography, as well as the ways in which both complement each other in the diachronic analysis of landscapes and territories since they have methods that allow to interweave the biophysical and human aspects. It also shows how the spatialization of social science enriched geography by placing it at the center of debates in social science and in counterpart, other social sciences have been renewed by including space as one more factor for the understanding of the social.

From chapter two, three examples of studies are presented in historical geography in Mexico.

Here it should be noted that the title of section two ("Three approaches to the society-medium relationship from historical geography in Mexico") can be confusing because it refers to chapter two as well as three and four that contin-

ue to be part of the three approaches. Actually, the second chapter is only an example. In this way we will consider the three cases together that, according to their subject, are: historical climatology; the landscape and the Mesoamerican territory and its transformation during the century xvi; and ruptures and continuities in the management of the environment in Mexico between the centuries xvi Y xxi.

In terms of historical climatology, the example is divided into four parts that show the work done by the author and its relationship with other research carried out, especially in Europe and North America. For example, the first part presents the use of documentary sources (*rogativas pro lluvia*) to reconstruct the climate during the last four hundred years as an additional tool in these studies. To this end, the author believes that precipitation is the most important climatic variable and not temperature, as it happens in other latitudes. This research has been carried out in nine of the former bishopric headquarters in New Spain (Mexico, Morelia, Guadalajara, Durango, Álamos, Hermosillo, San Cristóbal de las Casas, Mérida, Oaxaca and Puebla). A second part relates a brief reconstruction of the climate in the last four hundred years in Mexico with important events that have already been recognized by other authors in the matter in other latitudes. A third point examines the relationship between the European invasion and the Little Ice Age, which led to significant alterations in the landscape resulting from the consolidation of new means and modes of production as well as significant atmospheric alterations. Finally, the climatic extremes and their relationship with pests and epidemics are analyzed, for example the correlation between periods of droughts and torrential rains with pests such as locusts that had important effects on the population.

The second example, "The landscape and the Mesoamerican territory and its transformation during the long century xvi ", focuses on the abandonment of mountainous areas that were priorities under the Mesoamerican worldview and how it was transited towards the concentration of activity in the alluviums and flat lands that, under European perspectives represented the most suitable spaces for agricultural activity, livestock and human settlements (except for the mountain areas where some mining activity was carried out). two Similarly, the section is divided into three sections, the first entitled "The mountain: its perception and management in prehispanic Mexico" where the mountain concept is highlighted as "a symbol of civilization and referents in the construction of the landscape and the basis of the organization of the territory " (Ibid.: 78) and presents as an example of case studies the Meztlán area and the Tenango-

Atlatlahuaca area, 3 among others. The second section highlights the abandonment of ecotones, which during the pre-Hispanic period allowed the use of the environmental richness of the different environmental floors and slopes for agricultural purposes. So the colonists' attention was focused on alluviums and flat areas. The latter leads us to the third part that analyzes this preference for flat spaces and the great edaphic transformation (loss of soil and vegetation) that meant the change of land use coupled with climatic conditions, which, as mentioned, were especially adverse.

In the last example, "Ruptures and continuities in the management of the environment in Mexico: centuries xvi to the xxi", the author presents three cases that synthetically review the main transformations of different elements of the landscape during the last five hundred years. The first is the contrast between water policy in Mesoamerica and European Mediterranean policy, a change that translated into a transcendental hydraulic transformation particularly in the lacustrine systems of central Mexico. The second case is the management of pre-Hispanic, colonial and later soil, where the genesis and development of new edaphic units related to new agricultural practices, livestock, hydraulic, etc., introduced by the colonizers that radically transformed the previous characteristics are highlighted. of the floors. The last case presents two sustainable experiences, one colonial and the other nineteenth, that could serve to propose new actions and reduce the negative effects of human activity on the environment, the first being the water galleries and the other the local nature of the purification of waste from residential developments in Mexico City.

To conclude, we consider that the text contains suggestive themes for future investigations in the general reconstructions of the landscape and the organization of the territory in Mexico. It sets out key stages and processes that have resulted in significant changes in the landscape and that can serve as a benchmark for analysis at other scales. Likewise, studies at the local level will allow to qualify, enrich and contrast the conclusions of this study and the general considerations that it presents. Finally, we believe that the text grants a new incentive to historical geography to renew its interdisciplinary approach in its analysis of the society-medium relationship by incorporating the temporal element as essential.

References

1. Here it should be noted that both the title of this work and some sections makes use of the concepts "medium" and "environment" as a single cate-

gory, but if we consider that every medium is environment, it falls into a tautology. For example, in chapter one that is also called "Historical geography and environment" are references to this category as in the "society-environment relationship", "environmental issues", the "relationship between societies and their environment" or the "environmental floors" (pp. 27, 30, 31 and 41). But we also find allusions such as "influence of the environment on the human being" (p.30) or "link environment and culture" (p.95). Therefore we consider that in some cases there is repetition in the use of the concepts and it is not used rigorously through the text.

2. Regarding this particular topic (the intense occupation of the flat areas by the colonizers), I would like to comment that the text can become repetitive since it is mentioned in several of the sections. For example, reference is made to it in the first chapter (page 45), through chapter three (pp. 78, 82 and 85-87) and also in chapter 4 (page 93) in the example on soil management.
3. For a more extensive analysis on these areas, developed by the same author, we refer the reader to the chapter "Margins of the Southern Altiplano: Pre-Hispanic strategic spaces, non-priority spaces from the beginning of the century xvi "(Garza, 2012b).

Comment and Opinion

Laurence Brown

Abstract *From reflex on to environmental policy of criação and implantação of parks, ruled hair dominant conservationist, pretends to be discussed as to imposição of top for baixo contributed to social exclusion of populações tradicionais and indigenous, quando surrounding nestes processosos. It will be approached to situação dos Pataxó da Terra Indígena Barra Velha, located at the extreme end of Bahia, in the confluence of the managers of the National Park of Monte Pascoal há mais de meio século, devido à situação de sobreposição territorial. Além disso, intends to carry out a dialogue between the different conceptual and juridical perspectives of the territory. In order to indicate horizontal and participatory experiences, or present artigo também briefly addresses or case of an environmental reserve raised and germinated Pataxó hairs.*

Keywords: *environmental law, national, park, overlapping, indigenous land, territory*

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Introduction

A imposição do viés conservationist endowed by some policies of environmental protection da legislation brasileira gera conflitos in certain areas and territories, contributing to a socio-environmental crisis.

More present not world debate from a second metade do séc. XX, a crise environmental foi em large measure perpassada pela criação of some politics ambientais traced in biocentric theories that compreendem human beings numa

dicômica relationship that is manifested as a separação de seu environment. Assim, to concepção de o or meio natural environment deve be manter or less touched possível hair human being foi deeply diffused from experience North American conservationist.

During or século xx, a importação of this model for o Brazil was used as one of the principal environmental protection strategies, more than seventy parks were raised by the 1980s (Martins, 2012). In 1988, this system was reaffirmed by the current Federal Constitution of Brazil (CF / 88) and, subsequently, in 2000, it was regulated by the National System of Conservation Units (SNUC), creating assorted categories of integral protection. These categories allow the creation of units of preservation sem to human presence, such as parks, biological reserves, nature monuments, among others. A implementation of parks not Brazil gerou, e ainda gera, conflitos directly related à gestão do território de algumas populações tradicionais, that, não for coincidência, they are located in preserved bags of ampla biodiversidade.

2. Indigenous Terra or territory inhabited by indigenous povos, more than Uniao property.

As categories of Brazilian environmental management derived from conservationist reverberation não só na sobreposição between the territories of parks to traditional territories (where quão não ocorre to unemployment of populações that habitam the spaces delimited for a criação two parks), as accentuam as inequalities and consideram The modes of production of these communities as predators. In counterpart, it is possible to set up social groups that propose another way of understanding human beings / nature relação, overcoming consecrated separation with the dominant environmental perspective. These experiences, as in the case of Reserva da Jaqueira (located in the community of Pataxó da Terra Indígena (IT) Coroa Vermelha, in Santa Cruz de Cabralia - BA), contrapõem-se a hegemonic environmentalist paradigm and indicate that universalist discourse, unison, of top for baixo, both reductionist quanto silennciador das diferenças. two

Os Pataxó vivem mostly not extreme sul Bahia, bem as not north of Minas Gerais. I reg (...)

To export such analysis and theoretical debate, no article presented in a literature review, followed by an analysis of Terra Indígena (IT) Barra Velha, not located in Porto Seguro (BA). It is a Pataxó Territory, a reconstituted hair Brazilian State, which faces problems of overpopulation as Monte Pascoal National Park since the 1940s. No distant muito, another case to be briefly explained is the Indigenous Land of Coroa Vermelha, located not in the municipality of Santa Cruz de Cabralia (BA), where it is located in Reserva da Jaqueira. 3

Consumindo or product imported: na buy two parks, quem pays externalities?

A environmental issues vem a alguns years enquanto research field and focus discussion com mais nas various areas conhecimento do is consolidat-

ing. It can be said that it was from the second metade of século xx, by end do século 20, began two years 70 which is intensificaram discussões as to respeito gives environmental problems. A Conference of Stockholm (1972) and viewed as a framework that will serve as a guide for environmental policies of many ocidentais countries. Considering the different fronts of environmental socialist movements, or Catalan economist Joan Martínez Alier (2009) affirms that environmentalism was expanded, in part, by discourse against economic growth.

Termo used no environmental context to represent social change and values that enalte (...)

Among different, and sometimes divergent, fronts of environmentalism, Martínez Alier (2009) analyzes what he calls "or cult of the wild", which is the first of two currents of thought in defesa da natureza (untouched) and aims to create nature reserves livres da ação humana direta. Within this perspective, Alier (2009) faces a critique of political scientist Ronald Inglehart, for thisconsideration or apprehension of the jungle life of a "post-materialist" stage. More or occidental environmentalism não will be damaged by the "post-materialist" stage, sendo, ao contrário, motivated by "concern muito materiais deferentientes da crescente contaminação chemistry and the cliffs and the uncertainties aroused by the use of nuclear energy" (Martínez Alier, 2009: 25).

No entanto, não can deny that as mobilizações sociais problematizaram or impact two technological advances and gives civilizational proposal linked to irresponsável da irrespective of human nature. On the other hand, new ideological perspectives will emerge, questioning não somente or efeito, but also causes and economic rationality through this panorama - or capitalist system, to accumulation of capital, or maximum profit in time, demographic explosion, or consumerism etc.. With the intention of situating, quickly, or unfolding of debate about environment, Lorenzetti said that three stages of environmental discussions of last century could be highlighted:

A primeira foi "rhetoric", a time that, in the seventies, or environmental movement, will be the first words, symbols, and utopias, pouco conhecidos até então. A second "analytical" foi, it did not make sense to identify problems, study them and develop models for treaties. Na legal sphere is significou um impressionante movement of qualificação de novas hipóteses de regulação, lei of all kinds States, "green" Constitutions and international treaties of content amplo.

A terceira é, em nossa opinião, "paradigmatic", because it is a change that is changing us or we do not see the problems and solutions provided by our culture. (Lorenzetti, 2010: 16)

Despite the existence of a "paradigmatic" stage, associated with epistemological changes, some conceptions emerged in earlier stages of the project, such as two preserves of preservation and preservation - or first meaning as a guarantee of perenidade and inalterability of the ecosystem, keeping-or untouched

measure do possível, eo second looking to include a proteção do ecossistema integrated com a presença humana (Siqueira e Nogueira, 2004). Second Diegues, or termo conservação recebeu uma classic definition for WWF / IUCN (World Wide Fund for Nature / International Union for Conservation of Nature), na World Strategy for a Conservation in 1980, it is included in the following form:

Conservation and management of human use of organisms and ecosystems, as a guarantee of sustainability of use. Além do uso sustentável, a conservação inclui proteção, manutenção, reabilitação, restauração e melhoramento de populações (naturais) and ecosystems. (Diegues, 2000: 1)

A conservação, porém, nem sempre é understood in this way, being muitas vezes technically considered as a sinônimo of preservação. Exemplo disso ocorre com o conservacionismo (Diegues, 2000), movement that ganhou força us USA since 1872, as Criação do Parque de Yellowstone, and that integrates or movement referred to as "cult to wild" by Martínez Alier (2009). Baseado not estabelecimento parks ou naturais uninhabited reserves, or levantou conservacionismo uma bandeira "to qual foi Sendo impost to countries and societies com outros ecological and sociais features different" (Diegues, 2000: 3). In spite of vantagens of manter endemic species and to prevent or advance dematamento / degradação on areas that deserve protection by natural specificities, as management restrictions imposes hairs parks finm by breeding conflitos com dwellers give areas destined to this protection.

Externalidade é a category of field of economy that deals falhas of market - é or impact ge (...)

A expressão "populações tradicionais" is here understood in an extensive way and, like any other category (...)

Em countries such as Brazil and India, or the establishment of sai parks as well as the purchase of an imported product, at a later date, quem pagou to some externalities 5 foram as populações tradicionais 6 and indigenous people who live in escolhidos spaces for such a form of environmental protection. O result was (e ainda é) to coercive desocupação ã This populações, quando não these resistiam and partiam for or buffeting e luta direito ao território hair. Various perspectives ganharam força between biologists from different countries, establishing a neo-colonization, pois, da mesma form that the colonists julgavam represent the interests of two colonized, biologists da conservação consider the defenders of the underdeveloped countries nature (Diegues, 2000: 18).

The experience of India demonstrates that the raising of areas of preservation has increased inequality to transfer resources, two more poor for the rich, or that it has a great impact on life, giving them a lack of water, pastures, etc. No vizinho Nepal, Campbell (2005) alerts to the simplification of narratives that surround environmental protection, which places environmentalists on one side and populações locais, historically marginalized, de outro. No entanto, ele pon-

dera that these narratives can compreender or véu that a modern concepção da natureza launches on as discussões ambientais. On the one hand, you ambient ambitions (not case, referring-to ao movimento Chipko) conseguem legitimize or your discourse and approximate uma construção sustentável together à natureza; On the other hand, small farmers are repeatedly accused and held responsible for devastation, or that justifies the intervention of the State and the creation of parks and protected areas covering the territories of populações. This intervention, commonly, chega com ares de "educação ambiental", with the aim of teaching these small farmers how they will relate to each other. It happens that way you Governos operacionalizam political suas is connected diretamente odern concepções da natureza, which percebem disponível natureza ou uma ao Desenvolvimento material natureza ou uma em um there autonomous domain - separate two human (Campbell, 2005).

An ethnographic study, Campbell analyzes three situations of protected areas in different operating states of Nepal, being considered, even, a model of participatory and democratic implementation - or Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP). Occurs that attaching participatory proposals for environmental protection, such as Pont Campbell (2005), to a "certa" way of relating to nature as part of an external conhecimento àquelas populações. A natureza é conceived fora, separated from being human and from its social relations:

Translation of the author

A natureza as an object of symbolic construction has been imposta em inhabited environments, hair qual relações diretas das pessoas com or that meio environment lhes offer regulated, classified and approved according to priorities of conservação projetadas externally, that agora incluem a mobilização do local consent for environmental protection. (Campbell, 2005: 325) 7

Assim, scientifically legitimized, governs and certos groups ditam to conserve a natureza of top for baixo, propagating models supostamente universais, or that Diegues (2000) ironically chama of "magic formulas" - as fossem as respostas for all evils da global environmental crisis. The idea of an autonomous nature, crossing or conservationism, contributed so that human populações sejam seen as passíveis de mudanças, deslocamentos, substituição ou alteção two ways of life (Campbell, 2005). É possível consider portanto that as theories linked to or hegemonic conservacionismo acabam to undermine as possibilidades de uma democratic gestão, participatory, I contribuindo for a social exclusão and diminuindo ainda mais as chances of uma autonomia das tradicionais populações and indigenous about os seus territories. Campbell (2005) demonstrates how the most recent proposals for participatory management within the conservationist logic obscurecem as propostas that alter and transform the relações das populações locais e seus lived environments. At this point there is a convergence between the three cases that this author analyzes, not Nepal - there is always a discontented fount of the populações locais in front of the mudanças impostos aos their ways of life, which are transvestite hairs

discourses of participative gestão, da conservação da natureza e It needs the implantation of environmental protection areas.

No Brazil, in the 1930s, when he decreed or gave priority to the Florestal Code (Decree 23.793 of 1934), as an institute of Protective Forests, which has a determining influence on the cult of the wild or conservationism. Ao delimitar an area avaliada as important for preservation, indicating as an area of protective forests, not considered human beings as part daquele environment, tampouco a noção de território. This environmentalism, copied from the North American model, resulted in the institution of national parks that impeded or limited human access, promoting removals and de-territorialisations in various Brazilian states (Siqueira and Nogueira, 2004).

Na década de 1980, to the current Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil of 1988 (CF / 88), em seu art. 225, § 1.º, subsection iii affirms that:

All têm direito ao ecologicamente balanced environment, bem use comum do povo e essencial à sadia qualidade of life, imposed-se ao Public Power e à coletividade or dever de defendê-lo e preservá-lo for present and future gerações.

§ 1º In order to assure the effect of direct management, it is incumbent on Public Power: [...] III - define, in all units of Federação, espaços territoriais e seus components to serem Especially protected, being to alteração ea supressão allowed somente through lei, vedado qualquer utilização that compromises to integridade two attributes that justifiquem sua proteção. (Brazil, 1988, author's tap)

A expressão "espaços territoriais" used nesse text é reproduzida according to CF / 88, that não p (...)

As Units of Conservation that are enquadradas as integral protection têm as a basic objective pr (...)

As an express opinion, a CF / 88 determines the definition of espaços territoriais 8 a serem especialmente protected, or that deu causes à criação do Sistema Nacional de Unidades de Conservação (Brazil, 2000), which is one of the regulated forms of implantation of protected areas. O SNUC regulates and standardizes a series of possibilities of protection of territorial spaces in the form of a conservation unit, destined for preservation, conservation, research, tourism, etc. Dentre poss possibilities e as different forms of proteção two espaços territoriais hair SNUC existm as units of conservação do tipo national park, categorized na category integral protection, 9 that objetivam ao maximum livrar to unidade de conservação da presença humana.

Uma digressão about os da separação between humans ea natureza deste análise na Prune contribute Brasileiro context. From to Antiguidade, for example, it prays to natureza enaltecida asdivindade, for its não-artificialidade, now subjugated for technique and domestication. For Milton Santos, a history of homem on a terra é a history of a progressive break between or homem eo environment. This process is accelerated quando, praticamente ao mesmo tempo, or

homem descobre as individual and initiates mechanization of Planet, armed with new instruments to domino-lo. A artificialized nature brand uma grande mudança na historiaia da humanza. Hoje, com a tecnociência, alcançamos or estegio supremo dessa evolução. (Santos, 1994: 17)

This atuação two humans as producers of catastrophe, com ações considered as disastrous and degrading, em parte, é result of historical escolhas, related to the technical model and to a lifestyle or adotados, but também is lack of reflection on the various problems that permeiam essa relação e de a strategic discursive escolha for certain dominant sectors. In relation to this debate, Jason Moore (2017) proposes an analysis about Anthropocene, thermo muito em voga na atualidade. A proposta linked to the discourse of Anthropocene aims to situate humanidade em um novo tempo geological-historical, connected to mudanças provided human hairs to or surroundings. Assim, or Anthropocene envelops duas facetas principais: a dominant perspective that aponta or século xviii ea Revolução Industrial as frameworks for this new geological periodization; Another (re) configuration of the world to be historically understood through ação do homem (not singular) as a catastrophe producer.

Translation of the author

Com base nesta análise, Moore (2017) aponta for perigos that this periodização represents, ao jogar um véu de ilusão that reinforces a comforting discourse à conventional modern narrative - or discourse gives humanidade as coesa, homogenous, singular. Assim, cleanse of all to history or imperialism, or patriarchy, or racism and so many other problems. "Pergunte a qualquer historica e ela irá dizer-lhe: or as an alguém periodiza a history molda powerfully interpreted two events es escolha das relações strategic" (Moore, 2017: 596). This perception of two human beings as ahumanity that is separated from the face of a Nature emerges (Nature), an autonomous entity, which becomes a homem (not singular) - losing sight of the reproductive and reproductive practices that atravessam this relação.

The ideology of Anthropocene and Tributary gives a dichotomy between homem / nature and perpetual this myth that guides social theory and guides environmental criticism (Moore, 2017). For an analytical tack, Moore agrees that a new periodization exists, more than more reliably as transformations of last two circles, being capitalized - a historical era dominated by capital hair, hairs capitalist production modes that come from the machine Steam, more than a mudança na percepção do meio ambiente, transformed into resources, em força de produção, base for a modern economy (Moore, 2017). This analysis allows us to expand or change for other power relations that will contribute to a contemporary environmental crisis. For example, é possível olhar para o eurocentrismo e arriscar um neologismo for this period, chamando-o de "Euroceno". Assim as or Capitaloceno, this possibilidade of análise vai além da objetificação da natureza não-humana and, in this case, makes it possible to vis-

ualize a Universalist pretension associated with Eurocentric epistemological hegemony.

I have in view this digression undertaken about modern discourse that dichotomizes *homem x natureza*, fica mais easy to perceber as a Brazilian legal system connects to myths that integrate this perception. Sua time, conservation perspective Embasa to implantação parks ea criação of untouched reserves is alheia mantém-ao mode produção environment that degrades or two parks. A pressão do capital on the fronteiriças aos parks areas continues to exist, but even assim insiste-se na solução do isolamento of large areas, muitas vezes as an argument that é "melhor ter isto do não ter nada". Assim, parallel à criação da lei do SNUC e à implantação two parks, followed by dévolutionary policies (public or private), labeled as green of sustainable development, but many times producing environmental disasters. A discursive change, which alters or gives real life to the most palatable, contributed to a two social conflicts, hiding the problems related to the human appropriation of the territory and dislocating all environmental questão for a confluence between gerações (Rodrigues, 2009).

Not Brazil, many experiences of implanting parks are also experiences of top decisions for baixo, that will decretarem legal norms to raise these areas, disregard other national and international norms of human directs, direito à moradia e à dignidade, sobrepondo não só leis, as you limit yourself two parks years territórios de populações tradicionais and natives. At present, there are 140 units of conservation of integral protection type, more than 90 units backed by all the regions of the country facing territorial conflicts and setting up traditional territories, indigenous poods, family farmers and groups of assistants for agrarian reform; two 69 national parks, 53 apresentam algum type of territorial overlap conflito (Madeira et al., 2015).

No state of Bahia, or first park to be raised foi or Monte Pascoal National Park (PNMP), with decree-lei de criação published in 1943, plus sem a efetiva implantação. Then, in 1961, a new decree published in the park had been established, beginning a long history of conflict with the indigenous community that was inhabited or dwelt. Located not in the municipality of Porto Seguro and raised in a nationalist wave of identification of "Nasceu" or Brazil, or PNMP atéés dias atuais, reflecting the problems, not only the importation of a conservationist environmental protection model, inadequate to reality. local territorial, as it gives imposição do that would be to melhor destinação for aquele espaço.

E salientar important that from a implantação do SNUC, outras categories of environmental proteção também foram Tendo em maids view crescente discussão on a human presença and conflitos nas units conservação comprehensive proteção. As conservação units enquadradas na sustentável têm category of use or purpose of reconciling a human presença, or use two ea proteção environmental resources. From this perspective, it will be possible to raise more

units of sustentável use, but the previous policy has never been abandoned (Martins, 2012).

Or process of normatização (legalização) gives territorial overlap between or PNMP ea aldeia de Barra Velha

O Decree-Law 12,729 of 1943, which created or National Park of Monte Pascoal (PNMP), authorizes, in its fourth article, the disapproval of terras of terceiros that are inserted in a demarcated area. Or topographical elevation feito before or decree não citou to present two Pataxó indians nesta mesma area. A "falha", no entanto, não foi de desconhecimento, pois apontamentos em data next dão conta record of this povo hair Admiral Gago Coutinho em uma de suas expedições, além of previous muito records, séc. XVII and XVIII (Carvalho, 2009).

Practical, to consider or espaço as a mere surface inabitada no prévio moment instação de um parque, teaches a discussão about how to historically or historically use state of espaço as "instrument of maintenance, conquest and exercício of power [...]]" (Souza, 1995: 78), exercendo esse poder, não rareas, vertically. Or territorial space, considered just as a substrate, or as a surface that delimits or national territory (when it is tucked into hair management State of right territories), is a strategic and usual way to consider the full existence of social spaces that form territories. em histories, human relationships and networks of power. Or Territory tem relação com or substrate, but, more than that, it is a network of power relations that leads to the formation of identity (s) that establishes limits - indicating that it is within and that it is fora (Souza, 1995).

Feite these considerações, or National Park of Monte Pascoal, which was only introduced by decree of the federal government, or Decree 242, em 1961, limited to "surface" in approximately 22,500 hectares, to consider two Pataxó within these limits. The first national park to be established is not state of Bahia, it is clearly followed by North American conservationist, as it is possible to identify no art. 5th referred to normative instrument. Neste, determinou-se or esvaziamento da area através do proceções de doações e desapropriações (we are cases of posse e / o property de presente na delimitação do PNMP). As you follow :

Art 5º Fica or Ministério da Agricultura, through Serviço Florestal, authorized to enter em understanding as Gôverno do Estado da Bahia, with Prefeitura of Municipality of Pôrto Seguro e com os proprietarios particulares de terras abrangidas Parque, para o fim especial de promote doações, bem as efetuar as desapropriações that fizerem necessárias à sua instalação. (Brazil, 1961)

I am aware that, just before the creation of the PNMP, in 1861, or President of Bahia Province, I have seen constant conflicts between the indigenous residents of the colonies, compulsory meeting of the indigenous population of the region (from now on, Porto). Surely Santa Cruz de Cabralia) numa sole vil-lage. Anthropological studies indicate that this district originates at the same

time as Barra Barra (Sampaio, 2000) - considered and later referenced as Pataxó da aldeia-mãe, which was subposto aos limits of a park reared hairs decrees referred to. It can be said that desse process of aldeamento dos Pataxó resulted to the construction of a territorialidade, ou seja, "aquilo que faz de qualquer território um território, isto é, [...] power relations spatially delimited and operating on a referential substrate" (Souza, 1995: 99).

Em dealing with existing forms and relationships of power over the territories of the country, or the power of the State-nação é or that prevails. O Estado, rarely, by means of its representative managers of national scale, demonstrates through leis, administrative tasks and other rewards, not to consider the differences between the existing non-country territories, as well as a continuous homogenous process. Na implantação do parque, or decree bred hair então primeiro-minister of the republic, Tancredo Neves, não levou em consideração as relações de poder e dominação sobre aquele Territoria Pataxó. In truth, this territory was considered a process of legalization of the park.

Act or Decree-Law 12,729 of 1943, Decree 242, of 1961, has added an important episode for the history of Pataxó, commonly referred to by them as "Fogo de 51". It is acknowledged that Decree-Law of 1943 motivated the departure of leaders Pataxó for Rio de Janeiro, in search of regularizações a resdito das terras que habitavam. Sem Success, return to Barra Velha, second conta Sampaio (2000: 35), "accompanied by two individuals of mysterious identity [...] who, under the pretext of demarcating the limits of their territory, encouraged us to plunder or small business vizinho povoado do Corumbau ". This fato unchained a series of violent investments by two policemen of Porto Seguro against the Pataxó and the two indigenous stories of massacres, burned houses, tortures, rape, followed by a dispersal of various groups Pataxó pela região (Sampaio, 2000).

Com Implantation of PNMP, em 1961, eo enfraquecimento do órgão indigenista da época, or SPI - Serviço de Proteção ao Índio, os Pataxós that still has a delimited area for or park foram considered posseiros and, therefore, foram removed from its territory, Receiving indenizações irrisórias pelas benfeitorias realizar (Sampaio, 2000). Segundo Sampaio (ibidem), great part two Pataxó resistiram to this process of desapropriação e expulsão do território, being prevented, therefore, from praticarem to agriculture. The indigenous people began to receive institutional supportin the 1970s, as a criação da Fundação Nacional do Índio (Funai).

All this circumstance, not entanto, gerou um movimento de organização e reivindicação por direitos, as Carvalho affirms:

Among the Pataxó, or critical event referred to, at the time I was seeking, I removed the two historical addresses of traditional inhabitants of Monte Pascoal, awakening, literally, to the knowledge that it constituted a small part of a larger total.. Nesse sense, this event is equivalent to your own genesis as a political community, fostering an exclusive identity and custodian of the re-

sultant direito da sua pré-existência no território, à criação do PNMP. (2009: 509)

An important historical event related by Sampaio (2000: 36) is that period that segue à criação do PNMP and marked hair "surto madeireiro that atingiu a região na Esteira da Construção da Rodovia BR-101, inaugurated in 1973, is the implantação de um crescente tourism market ". O crescimento of wood plants installed next to or PNMP frequently attracted more than half of indigenous work in sazonais empregos (Brazil, 2008). These circumstances influenced the practice of Pataxó, pois, proibido to use suas terras as faziam traditionally, foram stimulated "by researchers, funcionários and retailers, to develop their produção of artesanato, or that would reveal an alternative interessante, able to preserve-lhes, em função do fluxo turismo, alguma autonomia econômica "(Sampaio, 2000: 36). Carvalho (2016), in verbete do site do Socio- environmental Institute, more precise to identify or process of non-artesanate investment Pataxó foi stimulated:

It is worth noting that artesanato emerges as an economic alternative from the decade of 1970, by suggestion of chefe of indigenous post Leonardo Machado, which must be considered a tourist destination that reaches the extreme seaboard, mainly between Porto Seguro and Santa Cruz Cabralia, decoror of BR-101 and gives economic dinamização consequent that, abruptly não planned, atingiu a região.

Among the 1970s and 1980s, the legal reconstitution of the territory of Barra Velha was followed by a dispute between the Povo Pataxó hair, which was finalized in 1991, as Decree 396, which, despite not granting all or required indigenous hair, homologou a demarcated area of 8,627 hectares, located within two PNMP limits - or one that is considered by some as an overlap of IT or PNMP. Or Decree 396 não fez menção a qualquer necessidade de redefinição two limits of PNMP, or that demonstrates a formalization, hair Brazilian state, gives territorial overpopulation of park or or indigenous territory Pataxó - ou vice-versa, for quem accredits that or PNMP "chegou primeiro " Além disso, to demarcação da TI Barra Velha deixou de fora os manguezais, food source traditionally used Pataxó hairs, or that gerou large dissatisfaction (Sampaio, 2000).

At present, more than sixty years passed Decree-Law 12,729 of 1943, continuous or confluent that revolves around fundraising and conservationist questões de un lado, e, do outro, direito ao território and, consequently, à autonomia, à identidade e à cidadania. A peculiar situation, or Monte Pascoal National Park, managed by a small-scale Instituto Chico Mendes de Conservação da Biodiversidade (ICMBio) - autarquia do Ministério do Meio Ambiente, and on the other side Funai - fundação integrante do Ministério da Justiça, em tese, must guarantee the utilization of land in accordance with indigenous povo culture. No entanto, to Funai find in the process of visível sucateamento e quase inoperância nas causas that deveria intervir in favor two Pataxó.

Or conflito hoje

A situação faced between or PNMP and TI Barra Velha é of territorial overpopulation and confused muitos between the Brazilian State (see represented by the ICMBio management) and the Pataxó. Quando is Terra Indígena no Brasil, or processo, approving and granting indigenous direito years allows to 're a posse, mas não propriedade grants. A propriedade da Terra Indígena é da União, Sendo this inalienável and indisponível, ea fiscalização and monitoramento fica por conta da Funai. You tell them two indices on these terraces, porém, não podem be removed, once identified and homologated to posse pelo ministro da justiça.

In spite of or role of Funai being related to the monitoring of territory, or indigenous organization, or participating in the process of homologation of Barra Velha, não enfrentou a questão da sobreposição territorial. Isso ainda traz reflexos, pois a fatia de terra destined to Barra Velha is located in pouco propício traditional agriculture. You conflite with different representatives of the State that has been involved in PNMP management since the demarcation of Indigenous Terra, in 1980, so much hair of the Pataxó não respeitarem limits that lhes foram impostos for não exploração do manguezal, quanto no que it refers to the withdrawal of wood from PNMP for artesanato ou repasse da madeira (Sampaio, 2000). It is worth noting that Pataxó não são is unique to explorarem os elements da natureza ali disponíveis. For Sampaio,

Much more worrying, from an environmental point of view, than an indigenous ação on or manguezal, which I am sewed from the moment of Corumbau, immediately afterwards, when a promissora infra-hotel structure was implanted, com um crescent afluxo of tourists in high estação. A presence of a voracious consumer market stimulated to commercial queue, this sim, can seriously commit to preservação gives life not manguezal do National Park. (Sampaio, 2000: 42)

In the meantime, when two technicians are heard or described from a technical point of view, they are officials of the park, and perceptible that for the Indigenous Land, chegou depois e terra, that the park's "retreat" is being indiscriminately depredated. For indigenous people, or process of investing and culpabilização deles is related as a result of serem "eles a 'arraia miúda' dentre os that valem indevidamente two resources of Parque, thus, the only ones that não dão tip to servers of Ibama [...] "(Sampaio, 2000: 43). Ao povo Pataxó, e visível that somente eles vivem esse process of culpabilização and criminalização by consequência de todo o cenário de exploração / degradação and enrichment of large companies and latifundiarios not around PNMP.

From the end of the 1990s, Pataxó claims a revision of the delimitation of Terra Indígena Barra Velha. In 2008, it was published in the Official Gazette of the União or the Summary of the Identification and Delimitation of Barra Velha, the initial phase of two procedures that integrated everything or the demarcation process of Terra Indígena. This document, submitted to the extension of

Barra Velha for 52,748 hectares (which included, limits, all or PNMP), is in process.

Informações granted em conversa com o então chefe of PNMP, Fábio de Souza, e algumas lideranças (...)

A existence, starting from the main road that cuts or park, of some clandestine access routes that link the villages to each other and allow circulation within the park, and cause of two problems between the management of PNMP and the Pataxó. For a park management, a need or date descends access. No entanto, these caminhos são reabertos constantly hairs Pataxó. Na visão dos managers do parque, such ato prejudz prejudice, pois contributed to or process of exploração crescente da area and commits to integridade do ecossistema, which can be understood as irreversível. On the other hand, two supervisory bodies and two managers of conservation units have difficulties in complying with the functions that they have attributed to them, due to their lack of human resources. Outro ponto de conflito diz respect à extração de madeira do parque, pois muitas famílias Pataxó ainda têm as meio of sustenance or artesanato em madeira. Ocorre that makes sporadic or ICMBio do fiscalizações in park, fim to prevent illegal Extração of madeira, or resulting em clashes between indigenous população ea Gestão do parque. eleven

Vem on the subject of the sob analyze context or conceit of cold violence, proposed by Serra e Volpini (2016), through which it can be considered that the Pataxó is submissive by means of diverse representations undertaken by the State, through the ações do ICMBio. A cold and exerted hairs agents agents who, in some form, is invested with impessoalidade, or represent a private institution or group, some distant reality (to example of ICMBio that represents or State as an impalpable entity). Isto makes these armored agents effectively give reação daqueles that são atlasidos pelas decisões "das instituições". Ou seja, toma-se determined measure, não por uma vontade pessoal, more by "vontade" da lei, do Estado, da organização etc. Tais ações two agents of ICMBio partm of a concern worthy of taking care of Mata Atlântica, present biome not Park that vem being degraded, but não cam em consideração to dignity of Pataxó families, mainly daquelas that vivem do artesanato em madeira.

A cold violence is also present in the historical construction of the guilt of two indigenous hair processes of environmental degradation, which is equally historic in the region. O processo of culpabilização do Povo Pataxó Prune be related to-do North American environment, conservationist compreensão na qual Devem parks will be raised com or intuito to preserve and manter a natureza untouched. But it will be that or dematamento of the theme park due to biodiversity resulting from a process of exploração para fabricação de artesanato Pataxó? This questão deserves to be investigated more thoroughly, in spite of being of general conhecimento to existência of a pole moveleiro na região sul da Bahia and existência do chamado industriano - artesanato produced by industry in large scale.

A configuration of confluence between or PNMP and IT Barra Velha is permeated by a series of events that ainda hoje interferem nas relações dos Pataxó com a gestão do ICMBio. Or ther ther event is used here according to the understanding of Milton Santos, "present" fato and able to change reality, being an "effective brutality" (1996: 116). Além disso, não há event sem ator, pois também é uma any event ação and ESSA ação um pode be limited to specific time cut, Sendo finite, ou pode last infinitely. When Santos (1996) deals with the natural duração of the event and gives organizational duração, he affirms that an event can be prolonged not temporarily by organizational resources, such as leis, portarias, normative instruções etc. Assim, or referred author fala on ainterference of organizational capitalism us ways of life and affirms that

Um two distinctive elements of our time and the on-going role of organization in all processes vitais. [...] Or use full ou incomplete ou all relative, effective ou ineffective, rentável ou não two possibilidades resources and ways and give em that encaixar determinações as is Devem depends em big, two modes of organização. A simple geographic relationship, a relação homem / terra, é each time less determined characteristics of the area and direct process of production process, each time more result of the process of organization of production seen as a whole. (Santos, 1996: 119)

Fato that the processes of hegemonic organization give modernity to the use of cold and difficult violence and the establishment of horizontal dialogues between the agents of ICMBio and the Pataxó. No campo da ação, two events of social nature, identifying where precisely this organizational situation is becoming increasingly complex, some elements that are confused, as for example, "distinguishing between fatores propriamente organizacionais, fatores propriamente technicians "(ibidem). Santos (1996) asserts that certain elements of têm compor-tamentos that are ligam à sua natureza (a potência eo motor limit, a adaptation and potential of a species of milho). "Or difficult, frequently, and know what characteristics 'naturais' or techniques induzem certain organizational forms vice versa" (ibidem : 120).

When we have a conservationist discourse about ICMBio's approach to dever de preservação, based on technical-scientific studies, not a legal and organizational apparatus of the State, a dúvida mesma can be raised to an interfere technique in an organizational form and / or to organizational form interfere nas naturais characteristics or techniques. O environmental discourse tem forte participação de articulações of international economic groups and institutions, or that it becomes difficult to identify the limits of where it comes from or ends to influences on the bandeiras raised and defended hairs technical- scientific discourses. Vide or conservationism, which at the same time receives influence from biologists, is also connected to economic groups linked to tour-ism, a State that links parks to a prestige in its image, scientists who want to be untouched for research purposes, among others (Diegues, 2000). All these networks of complex relationships, some quais or economic and state power tend

to be overpowered by the realities of traditional and indigenous populações. It does not allow, many times, to identify what is a remnant of a violência that temdere endereço certo.

A Reserva da Jaqueira, a appropriation of symbolic capital and the attempt of a horizontal environmental protection project

Return to an express commonly used hairs Pataxó to designate or return to or territory ancestr (...)

Close to 150 km of PNMP, not a municipality of Santa Cruz de Cabralia, a tourist destination and where Pataxó has a large handicraft shop, it is located at Terra Indígena Coroa Vermelha, which has a demarcation approved in 1997. A aldeia é subdivided in Gleba A, with 77 hectares (fatigue of terra na litorânea area) and, 6 km of distance in the continent, Gleba B, with 1,415 hectares. A total of 1,492 certified hectares, such as Coroa Vermelha, 825 hectares of Gleba B foram, destined Pataxó hairs for an environmental preservation area called Reserva da Jaqueira. Before mesmo da homologação da Terra Indígena, a Reserva da Jaqueira was resumed 12 years ago at the end of 1990, em A movement led by pelas irmãs Nitynawã, Jandaya e Nayara. Second Nitynawã, or return to a lesser mast also in view of the necessity of resigating as origens. Secondly, it is a process of difficult construction and of a small resistance. A liderança feminina affirms everything or tempo that, graças ao turismo, eles conseguiram se manter ali, sem destroy to kill, using or dinheiro do tourism to survive. In July 2016, during a visit to the Jaqueira Reserve, I was able to witness a public exhibition of Nitynawã, which stated that the process of return that kills also provides or strengthens the identity of the Pataxó culture: "You can see that people are seen assim [referindo-se às vestes tradicionais dos Pataxó] only to receive tourists, but não... that is a way of affirming our identity ". At present, a reserve and managed by a family trunk two Pataxó of Coroa Vermelha, is economically explored via ethno / ecotourism. Or place a possum uma escola for as crianças, um viveiro destined to or reflorestamento of endemic plants, areas of esporte e lazer, dois kiosks for banda de artesanato produzido hairs Pataxó, a traditional indigenous house to receive tourists and make apresentações, além de trilhas com instalações that demonstram antigas forms de caça e quelta.

A Experiência da Reserva tem was shown successful in analyzing two indigenous people who were in the area. In an interview carried out on July 29, 2016, as cacique Aruã, he affirmed that he reserves ficou as a preservation area by opção da própria comunidade - sem imposição de authorities estatais. Previously, the homologation of the Indigenous Terra, second elem, a ocupação da Reserva, em 1997, foi com this intuito de preservação, pois como a comunidade uses a terra for agricultural purposes and for a retreat of wood for handicrafts, a finished mata já teria it is isso não fosse feito. In addition to part of Gleba B, which faces the Reserve, it is used for agriculture, more, second indigenous peoples of Coroa Vermelha, or insufficient space for a number of families. For ex-

ample, they also demanded a revision of the Indigenous Land, which originally required 10 thousand hectares. The revision process is in the phase of requisition Pataxó hairs, according to cacique Aruã, Reserva da Jaqueira represents about 50% of Indigenous Land Coroa Vermelha, as a preservation area, or that becomes more necessary or process of review for the community.

It is worth recalling that the territory of Coroa Vermelha, Gleba A, is urbanized and has greater concentration of lojas of indigenous artisan banda da região. No entanto, according to cacique Aruã, Coroa Vermelha é pole de comercialização e não de produção do artesanato. Isso entertains those invested with the withdrawal of Madeira da Mata da Reserva da Jaqueira, além of the indigenous natives conhecerem os seus pares e terem maior condição de dialog e controle sobre o território. During a visit to Reserva da Jaqueira (in July 2016) I was also able to talk with the ex-cacique of this village, Karajá, who affirmed that the care of the National Park of Monte Pascoal does not happen either because the State decided to transform the area Park Foi uma decisão para si, e não para a local população. Já a Reserva, não - second ele, the Indians will make a decision for the mesmos. Karajá also affirmed that "Na Reserva quem cuida es nós [Pataxó], sem ajudado governo e to show that we are capable of fazer isso". Pois, for ele, when a determination of preservation is made for the community of participation to oil and melhor.

The experience of Reserva da Jaqueira can indicate an appropriateness, on the part of two Pataxó de Coroa Vermelha, that Harvey (2005) chama of symbolic collective power. To use or conceive of symbolic power of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, Harvey chama to attention to the possibility of a local culture, historically subalternized, to appropriate his social capital that unlike what makes it attractive for a global economy. Harvey (2005) discusses the tendency of capitalism to transform commodity culture, mainly when that culture is differentiated by peculiar aspects in relation to everything, globally.

No case two Pataxó, it is evident that the economic field, in particular or tourism, is appropriate for the existence of a Non-Municipal Indigenous Land of Coroa Vermelha as an attractive and differential. It is perceptible to the installation of a shopping mall, forming a Pataxó craft corridor, which forms a walkway or a flat roof made at the beginning of Brazil. Something that is also present us indigenous monuments, nomes of hotéis e of tourist associations that levam or nome Pataxó, ou algumas expressões em patxôhã (língua Pataxó, that has been investigated indigenous hair hairs to fim de resgatá-la and reconstructed it).

Renda monopolista é a possibilidade of increase of flow of renda by muito tempo through control (...)

De Geral mode or state and to private initiative são os maiores investidores two heterogeneous aspects em podem be transformed commodities. Or market, or to appropriate and emphasize the uniqueness of local culture, muitas vezes consegue give ao product gerado or special character that attract renda. Harvey (2005) highlights a series of contradictions present not capitalism, but to invest

in local culture, can be given for or "inimigo". Nessa conjuntura, ocorre uma contradição quando "o mais avido da globalização apoia os desenvolvimentos locais with the potential to produce monopolistic returns (this is the result of such support to a local political climate contrário à globalização!)" (Harvey, 2005: 230).¹³ Here, it is possible to say that capitalism is globalization (or, as Harvey calls it, 2005, or "geographically uneven development"), whether between global or local, on the attempt to homogenize globally within capitalist culture. extolling or singular local, and transforming culture in commodities.

ESSA 52 Como necessidade to expand Renda (sobretudo a monopolist Renda) no capitalism is intrinsically linked to or singularity Fator especificidade and diferenciação both ARTEFATOS or two field and give culturais Práticas, as as features ambientais são terreno férteis. It seems that Pozo Pataxó of Coroa Vermelha will be able to buy the symbolic construction of India as a prototype of the environment and, even, make a tourist attraction. The hegemonic logic of capitalism is demonstrating that its dynamics contributed to the perpetuation of social and economic inequality, at the same time as a dominating plot or economic capital and also a plot that appropriately appropriated cultural symbolic capital, local, singular, to perpetuate or domínio da renda monopolista. The experience of Reserva da Jaqueira is presented, therefore, as a counter-hegemonic and horizontal avenue, but at the same commune Pataxó benefits from collective symbolic capital, for which all contribute. You profit com relação ao turismo, no entanto, ainda são distributed as tourist attractions (when these are tourists à reserve), in spite of being Pataxó we will be the administrators of their own territory.

As Bem Diz Harvey, "or capital possui to appropriate and extract surpluses of different locais, das variações culturais locais and two aesthetic meanings" (2005: 237). Ou seja, os modes of capitalist produção tendem to transform tudo em commodities. But to monopolist and em essência, contraditória - precise ter negociabilidade and homogenize, at the same time that it needs to be unique, authentic, particular and original. To maintain itself or monopoly, those that detêm to monopolistic renda stimulated forms of differentiation, support or local cultural development, muitas vezes divergent of operation of globalization hegemonic. Nesses Espaços contraditórios é that can be identified or walked for a counter-hegemonic atuação da local culture. Assim, os Pataxó de Coroa Vermelha is managing to manage its own territory in a horizontal way, establishing also dominant logical environmental, economic and political relations.

The experience of Reserva da Jaqueira is coadjusted with an analysis of Harvey, which states that "it is evident that some alternative to the contemporary form of globalization will be presented to us from high up. Terá de vir from within two espaços multiples locais, linked num movimento mais amplo" (2005: 239). Essas contradições da renda monopolista devem be, therefore, explored so that "as foras progressistas da cultura appropriated two capitals instead of capital" (Harvey, 2005: 239). Within these relações de dominação entre o local eo

global, Stuart Hall (2003) indicates that a contemporary globalization is also a novidade contraditória, pois sua dominant cultural tendency and homogenization. In the meantime, globalization has caused extensive differentiating effects not within societies or between countries.

Culturally, the coisas seem semelhantes to each other, but concomitantly ha uma proliferação de diferenças. Here is an analysis of scales of scale, onde or universal, it seems homogeneous, more or local changes as different. Second Hall (2003), or local resiste ao global - e não for a traditional romantismo that is opposed to modern - but for conternências, por outras forças. Or local can be progressist, retrograde, fundamentalist, aberto o fechado - não é somente hair fato being local that relações serão less hierarchized. A ideia não é romantizar or local and see na sua diferença a solução para los problemas da atualidade. A questão é that is not local or is instalavel, that resists or homogenizing flux of universalism with different temporalities and conjunctures (Hall, 2003).

É possível, therefore, compreender em both os authors, Harvey (2005) and Hall (2003), that or local pode oferecer situações de instabilidade e reviravolta. No case of Reserva da Jaqueira, there is a process of resistance through which it is possible to identify that the gaps in the contradictions of the capitalist system are being taken advantage of by Pataxó hairs as a way of appropriating capital space.

Considerações finais

O Stabelecimento do conservacionismo como proposta environmentalista dominante ea adoção deste conceito hair Brazilian legal system, a category of parks, tends to contribute to processes of exclusão das populações tradicionais and indigenous e for emergência de conflitos socioambientais. A imposição, from top to bottom, gives rise to green delimited hairs parks ea way to ignore propositively the traditional territories, deixa na conta do environmental and environmental policy Brazilian brasileira um negative balance, which demonstrates disregard of conceits and more appropriate perspectives à social reality of this country. Or conflito that lasts for more than five decades, not Monte Pascoal National Park and in so many other Brazilian hair parks, confirms an environmental rationality that looks for magical solutions, consensus, homogenization and disregard other knowledge não enquadrados na logic da ciência modern. Além disso, a dichotomy homem / natureza that crosses a conservationist perspective contributed to obscure the socio-environmental problems, which are not related to tourism, agricultural and extra-large-scale extrativism - for example two latifúndios destined to breeding de gado, monoculture of mamão e café, and the enormous eucalyptus "forests" destined for cellulose production. monoculture of mamão e café, and huge eucalyptus "forests" destined to produce cellulose. monoculture of mamão e café, and huge eucalyptus "forests" destined to produce cellulose.

Trave to experiencia da Reserva da Jaqueira, seeks to demonstrate the importance of dialogue between knowledge and how to construct environmental knowledge can be diverse, inclusive and horizontal, não de cima para baixo. The various territorial conflicts that surround traditional traditions throughout Brazil or Brazil, na maioria das vezes, permeated by environmentally limited, dominant and exclusive understandings. And, not minimal, symptomatic to confirm that an indigenous community receives a large part of the hair loss process and the withdrawal of the national park, accused of environmental degradation, such as the case of Barra Velha, but considered the entire economy.

A defense of conservationist thinking, part of the legal field, the abyss of blindness versus theoretical discussions and social reality. This "cegueira", for the time being, goes through a place of comfort, since it is a direct field and a responsive field for processes of maintaining the status quo of a society. Of course, the judiciary is not the only perpetuating structure of inequalities, but two agents representing the State can not be "very important" as an environmental cause. O Brazilian state, to import or system of parks and reserves, instalou hundreds of conflicts and injustices involving indigenous people and traditional poodles. Por isso uma importance of seeking to revisão and reinvenção das forms of environmental proteção, mais equalitarian, sem exclude all diversity of present not country.

Prune deixar 60Nã is quoted to Tools available to realidade com mais compatíveis SOCIO-Brasileira, including non - próprio present National System of Units Conservação to exemplo da category that allows presença and human Interação, so - called "sustentável use." Neste enquadramento, you will find units of preservation of type Reserva Extrativista and Reserva de Desenvolvimento Sustentável, destined to territories of populações tradicionais, that in spite of também apresentarem problems of gestão, at least look for forms participativas and horizontais na relação com as populações locais. Ou seja, recriar senses e refazer caminhos e uma real possibilidade to build a new environmental rationality - less hierarchical and less distant realidade.

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End of capitalism: shock doctrine and the statements

Alessandra Santos

Abstract *Or present an article as a goal to reflect on the contributions of two feminist studies for research on the relationships of gender and migration. First of all, a theoretical discussion about the need for research that assumes a feminist stance is not the same as the production of a critical confection, which considers the gender differences in imputation, with different mechanisms. de opressão e dominação aos quais as imigrantes estão expostas. Subsequently, according to her reflexion, she started working as a Brazilian immigrant in Portugal, a feminist academic member of the articulation group of "Manifesto em repúdio ao preconceito a las mulheres brasileiras em Portugal", about how to articulate theory and feminist practice we were migratórios.*

Keywords: Capitalism, shock doctrine, statements, member

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From or classic pioneiro artigo of Morokvasic (1984), as a result of the effort of some feminist academics to give visibility to gender questões we migratórios (Anzaldúa, 2012, Kofman, 1999, Mahler e Pessar, 2006, Piper, 2006, Sassen, 2002), as investigações sobre da migração feminina cresceram quite a lot. At the present time, it is rare to find some field studies that are not migratory studies that, less hair, do not mention mulheres as subjects migração ou que em suas análises não apresente results disaggregated by sex. It is, on the one hand, this new perspective of analysis asserts a critical compression of diverse feminine migratory experiences or a proper understanding of the complexities of gender inequalities present in our geographical displacements, be-

cause it must not be minimized, since it constituted a first step to give visibility to the different realities that surround or phenomenon migratório.

If you consider it important to reconcile the small advances on gender and migration, it is necessary to demarcate that a feminist analysis will be able to compare homens and mulheres and conclude that you have differentiations between them or compare migrants and locals and demonstrate that the first preconceived sofrem mais what are you last? Porém, as denounced by Herrera (2012), Hondagneu-Sotelo (2011) e Nawyn (2010), essas abordagens têm been muito mais more than studies that were critically engaged in comprehension of migração feminina. Thus, the authors warn that, at the moment, two studies on migration, especially those of a quantitative nature, present results on homens and mulheres separately, so that gender issues are seldom addressed in a critical manner. Além disso, or understanding of gender as social construction crossed by unequal relations of power and different eixos of difference and non-existent as asymmetries present na relação between homens and mulheres são problematized escassa and superficially. I do not mean that you discuss the inequalities between the various groups of women, the consequences of different social positions that you occupy, you have a significant gap.

[...] It is not enough to have mulheres and homens as this fosse is a naturally dual relationship, simple and not problematic. Hair contras, a relação entre as mulheres e os homens pressupõe um cognitive confrontation prévio about inequalities ou continuidades two seus powers that determine, in the last instance that oppresses versus quem é oppressed or oppressed and opressor ao mesmo tempo. É necessário reforçar to ideia that qualquer abordagem that naturalize and generalize um conceito distorce or conhecimento because it takes as geral é or particular social and situationally built. (Cunha, 2011: 60)

Logo, I consider that fundamental feminist analyzes on migrações é and seek to identify, interpret and understand the causes for as differences, asymmetries and existing inequalities, seja na relação between homens and mulheres, seja among the diverse groups of mulheres, locating the different mechanisms of dominação e opressão that operam, so that então is possa intervir no sense of social transformation. Compartilho, pois, com Juliano (2000) or understanding that a feminização dos fluxos migratórios is not enough to add a new variety of analysis to research, but implies, above all, rethinking and recreating models, theories and explanations about da migração, adotar uma Nova lens able to reconhecer that experience two geographic displacements of mulheres hair globe é, qualitatively, different gives two homens and daquela that occur between muléres muléres, em em função da sua classe social, raça, religion and do your country of origin. Ou seja, empregando os ensinamentos de Scott (1986: 13), print a feminist character studies on migration means "to insist on inadequation of existing theories in explaining the persistent inequalities between mulheres e os homens". Logo, it is necessary to review the motives that lead to migrating, what consequences for the countries involved, what are their

dynamic implications of gender relations, what innovative solutions could be raised, not academic and no political demands and social issues? provoke This shift of focus, obtrigatively, to reconnection of gender as a constitutive element of migration that permeates, not micro level, but not a macro level of practices, identities and institutions involved in the phenomenon (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2003: 9).

As theories of intersectionality (Brah e Phoenix, 2004, Lugones, 2008, Piscitelli, 2008, Stolke, 2006, Yuval-Davis, 2006) têm given um big I contribute as chave de leitura for as investigações regarding migração e gênero. A analysis gives shape as different markers of interagem differentiation between themselves and fundamental for a comprehension of trajetórias das imigrantes, pois a posição that essas mulheres occupies a society of acolhimento and result of a process of interdependence of different eixos de diferenciação (Lugones, 2008).

Aqui, as denúncias about the impossibilidade de separação between raça and gênero, has muito raised black feminist pelas (Hull, Bell-Scott and Smith 1993, Smith and Combahee River Collective, 1986, Spelman, 1988), extrapolate for you demais markers of difference (as religion, class, idade entre outros), levando à compreensão that as forms of discrimination, opressão e segregação estão em interação dinâmica e, which, therefore, is fruitful and analyzes them individually. As relembram Brah e Phoenix (2004) and Lugones (2008), to intersecting volta map or to give visibility to the social consequências e materiais of differentiating markers such as raça, classe and genero quando analisados em interação. This is a theoretical ferramenta that makes it possible to understand how "complex, irreducible, varied and varied effects are seguem when multiples of differentiation - economic, political, cultural, psychic, subjective and experiential - intersect in specific historical contexts" (Brah e Phoenix, 2004: 76). Moreover, this approach responds to the criticisms of Mohanty (1984) made to analysts who disregard the production of mulheres as socio-economic and political groups within particular contexts, rather than limiting the definition of a feminine subject based on only a gender identity, more abrem espaço so that the identities of classe ou raça, between outras, sejam equally incorporated.

A analyze The intersection between the different markers of differentiation also allows us to uncover forms of oppression, exclusivity and segregation that are normally invisible. Esse analytical exercício não summarized somar inequalities, mounting-as as um quebra-cabeça implies, sim, to compreensão gives impossibilidade existence of markers seen separately diferença, uma time estão em reciprocal and continuous Interação, and by vezes tied contraditória (Piscitelli, 2008). It is this interaction that delinees as relações sociais that imigrantes estabelecem no destination country. Taking or exempting das brasileiras in Portugal, Piscitelli affirms (2008) that these immigrants are traversed by markers of sexuality, class, nationality, gender, gender and ethnici-

ty, who end up racializing them as mulatas and sexualizing them as erotic corpses. To intersecting markers, somado ao colonial speech that apresenta mulheres das ex-colônias as hipersexualizadas, as associates sex or easy, à prostituição e ao sex market, positioning as inferior subjects and marginals, contributing to processes of exclusão e segregação Social.

Contudo, in spite of instigating possibilities of analysis that offer, as intersectional theories have been constantly criticized. Young (1995) aponta or referred to conceito Prune infinite array um das regresso categories, just subtracting or individual, making impossível em think coletivos; ou ainda questiona or that would justify a priorização de um determined eixo e não de outro. Sem deixar de reconhecer a pertinência das críticas, I certify that for an analysis of situations quais vários eixos de diferenciação estão em jogo - characteristic of the experiência of mulheres immigrants - as contrições das teorias da interseccionalidade não podem be minimized, rather than obrigam a A reflexão about daquilo that was made invisible when these categories were analyzed separately (Brah e Phoenix, 2004; Lugones, 2008).

Outra discussão within feminist theories that traz contribues fundamentais to analisar questões concernentes em mulheres imigrantes related to post-colony studies and criticisms that constantly stabelece on or olhar colonizer two feminisms of North em relação às mulheres do Sul (Cunha, 2011, Mohanty, 1984, Mies e Shiva, 1993, Spivak, 1988). A few studies on migração de mulheres qualified (Ackers, 2010, Kofman, 2000, Kofman e Raghuram, 2009, Kofman e Baptista, 2005) They make great problems, on the one hand, they have experience with subjects and, on the other, legitimize or stereotype that migração feminina concerns exclusively the relocations of poor women to more developed countries in search of better conditions of life. This imaginary sustains or binarism as migratory studies between "mulheres do primeiro mundo" and "mulheres do terceiro mundo", situating the second category as immigrants, as primitive, vitimized, indefensual, ignorant and apolitical mulheres. Ao colocarem-se as a center and definirem emancipação from their own places, as feminists of the North transform imigrantes do Sul em "outras ainda não emancipadas" (Cunha, 2008: 33), em subalternos and inferior subjects that need to be retrieved pelas mulheres europeias truly emancipated (The Barbera, 2012).

Afeitas denounces by Mohanty (1984) against the hegemonic feminisms of the North, which perpetuates visão das mulheres do Sul as a monolithic and singular subject, are still extremely pertinent, not referring to gender-related studies, since a part considered two works on migração feminina reproduces relações de cultural dominance and negação da heterogeneidade desses sujeitos. The author states that some feminist produções

[...] discursively colonize the material and historical heterogeneities of the lives of women in the third world, and therefore produce / represent a singular compound, the "woman of the third world", an image that seems to be con-

structured in a arbitrary but that carries with it the legitimizing signature of the humanist discourse of the West. (Mohanty, 1984: 115)

This analysis and perfectly applied to the field of migration, or hegemonic discourse on immigrants, presents as a bloc of mulheres, experiences that are exactly identical, regardless of social class, race, ethnicity or schooling. As an apunt Cunha (2011), or colonial way of construção do conhecimento traz engendered em yes a construção do desconhecimento. Nesse sense, studies on gender and migração pautados hairs pressupostos two hegemonic feminisms to categorize, for example, Equatorian, Angolan, Filipino and Bolivian indistinctly as "imigrantes de terceiro mundo", homogeneízam essas mulheres, encobrem suas diferenças culturais, politics and sociais, and Disregarding the subjective experiences of each of them.

Destampaia ainda that as investigações about feminização dos fluxos migratórios continue to suffer, as a result of conservative colonial academic tradition, do not have to study excesses on certain topics, as well as other, important, neglected. As some feminist critics denounce (Harding, 1991, Neves e Nogueira, 2005, Narvaz e Koller, 2006), a production conhecimento é crossed by political, ideological and conjunturais. Isto é, a refusal of escolha ou um não investigação topic is given randomly, tampouco or desconhecimento about certain naive and Assuntos. O fto of some aspects of migração feminina não serem analisados em profundidade, ou antes ainda nem serem reconhecidos, e um indicative of how questões relative to the mulher imigrantes continue to be conceived as minor and the existence of an oil on which characteristics dessepromise and relevant.

Se, on the one hand, there are many studies about the intensification of the entry of immigrants, not the labor market of the care provider and domestic servants as a consequence of the hegemonic globalization process. (Ehrenreich e Hochschild, 2004, Herrera, 2011, 2012, Hondagneu-Sotelo 2003, 2007, Sassen, 1997, 2002) foram fundamentais to denounce as situations of oppression and exploration to muitas desas mulheres estão submetidas, for outro finram by reforming and legitimizing or stereotype of immigrants as poor, uneducated com baixos níveis de qualificação. And, at the same time, it will contribute to different experiences and realities related to feminine imigration remain anonymous, as related to: sexuality, associativism, entrepreneurism, sexual identities, family nova configurations, immigrant youth migrants, refuges, political movement, qualified imigration, acesso à cidadania (Manalansan, 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2011).

For fim, sublinharia também that, not Sul Global to produce conhecimento about da imigração de mulheres tenha significantly increased (Ariza, 2007, Herrera, 2011, 2012, Lisbon, 2007, Magliano, 2009, Piscitelli, 2011), this aspect is not assecure to the existence of a practice of decolonization two migratory studies of gender. Mohanty (1984) and Cunha (2011) emphasize that in spite of some investigators provirem do Sul Global, they face difficults na criação de

um corpus of analysis that contains feminist perspectives pos-coloniais, finishing by repeating or homogenizing discourse produced, not global North.

Portanto, e com a denrencia, critique and subversão tarefa two places of power, inequalities and oppressions between genres and between the mulheres, which feminist theories are chamadas to contribute together two migratórios studies, as well as to offer fios outros that support and conduct analogous novae. Then I will write a specific case that does not support feminist theories foram fundamentais for the construction of a critical analysis on the imigration of mulheres brasileiras in Portugal.

Feminist practices and the construction of a political connotation and entrusted to immigrant women

A comprehension two feminist studies as a theoretical field and a political place guided by a committed scientific practice com a promoção da mudança social (Schmidt, 2004: 20) e constatação da marginalização das investigações sobre migração de mulheres levou-me to demarcate in meus estudos a critical and situated feminist position.

one A doutorado thesis entitled "Lindas Mulheres com Rendas de Portugal: a insertion das mulheres bra (...)

Desert opção, for mim, mulher, Brazilian and feminist immigrant, join a group of articulação do "Manifesto em repúdio ao preconceito against the Brazilian mulheres in Portugal" (which descreverei em breve) was a imperative, a time that as reivindicações presented hair document iam ao encontro two ideais that comungo de uma ciência cidadã e de um conhecimento critical sobre a migração. At the same time, I identi-e me com várias das situações descritas pelo documento, bem as reconhecia a realidade of muitas das imigrantes brasileiras que entrevistei ao longo da minha tese.one O Manifesto enquadrava-se, pois, not that Schmidt (2004) descreve as sendo uma das tarefas principais e mais important feminist theories: a problematização between a di- chotomy conceitual between theory and practice. Mais ainda, enconva eco nas reflexões de Mohanty (1984, 2003) about political implications two analytical principles that regem as investigations, on a relevancy of link between feminist academic practice and feminist political mobilização, poss possibilidades e necessidade de ativismo e luta fora da academia.

O referred Manifesto foi uma reação ao racist and sexist character of television series "Café Central" veiculated hair canal Rádio e Televisão de Portugal (RTP). Or program was a graphic animation exhibited from second to sixth feira às oito da noite e, according to equipe de criação, propunha-se to address in a satirical way questões related com o cotidiano português. Passava-se em um café onde, regularly, there are five people: Gina, Águas, Félix, Silva e Conde. Gina was a sole mulher, a prostitute who falava com sotaque do Brasil and reproduced all the stereotypes of Brazilian immigrant in Portugal: sexy voice, roupas sensuais, behavior and hypersexualized discourse, as we can see na transcrição abaixo.

Oi queridinhos, how are you running? Tudo legal? Foram à praia mergulhando e nadando muito no mar? Ou ficaram no quarto mergulhando na pool of love erotic feito a dois, ou a três, ou a quatro, né? [...] We are sent to send us destinations of the country, it would be a feito on the basis of sex. Esqueçam as privatizações, comigo or negócio são as sexualizações. [...] Faça como eu: tem to pay VAT, pay with sex; pay IRS, pay with sex, ué? Negociações com a Troica? Sex! (Gina, Central Coffee Program, RTP, 29.08.2011)

Nesse sense, as physical characteristics of Gina, his speech or place that was reserved not program is an example of how or device gives racialização intersects or device gives sexualidade. Embora Gina is represented as a mulher loire, ela é crossed by a process of racialização that transforms em uma sensual and erotic mulata. Here, não é a cor da pele confere a condição de mulata, more like a Brazilian nationality crossed with colonial discourse, which, simultaneously, contributes to hypersexualização da personagem (Gomes, 2011, Piscitelli, 2008).

A starting with the initial convocation of a Brazilian feminist activist in Portugal, through a Facebook group with approximately 30 members, between women and men, from Brazil and Portugal, in a participatory manner, a written report on a stigmatized form, exotizada and hipersexualizada that the Brazilian immigrants are treated Portuguese social communication. The organization of the group will be horizontal, dispensing with hierarchies and launching processes of self-organization. Or document foi entitled "Manifesto em repúdio ao preconceito against as mulheres brasileiras em Portugal". Além das denúncias, or Manifesto also demanded that competent authorities in Portugal and not Brazil take necessary measures to eliminate discriminatory practices.

We saw it at once, manifesting our repudiation to or preconceitment against the Brazilian mulheres in Portugal and demanding that pro- visions be taken by competent authorities. [...] We demand, competent authorities, that we comply with "CEDAW - Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Mulheres", which qualifies Portugal, as well as Brazil, to be signatories. We emphasize, also, or "Memorandum of Understanding between Brazil and Portugal for a Promoção da Igualdade de Gênero", which does not state that these countries are "resolved to combine efforts to advance implementation of necessary measures for the elimination of discrimination against a mulher em. both countries. (Manifesto em repúdio ao preconceito against as mulheres brasileiras em Portugal, 2011)

Devid à boa e fast aceitação do document no Facebook, outras ferramentas virtuais como blogues, Twitter, petições online, mailing lists e Orkut 2 Foram being incorporated into the strategies of the group, conferndo-lhe um caráter de ciberativismo. Isto é, a form of politically deceived atuação that is given via internet / do ciberespaço, seeking to fazer in front of speech dominant, in a livre and independent way (Cavalcante, 2010; Vegh, 2003).

A repercussion of Manifesto deu-se in different print and television jornais give us countries (em Portugal no jornal Public to 29.09.2011 e no jornal Destak to 20.09.2011, and not Brazil in the magazine Economic value to 11.11.2011 in a magazine Capital Letter to 26.09.2011), ea petição online contou com um number greater than 1000 individual assistances of members of civil society, of 7 representatives of Conselho de Brasileiros no Exterior, of 21 associações e movimentos sociais do Brasil e de Portugal e com solidariedade de mais de 20 organizações não governamentais two dois countries (from among those that can be cited or Unified Black Movement - Brazil, Rio Grande do Sul Coordination - Brazil, Portuguese Coordination of the World March, Mulheres World, Lisbon House of Brazil, União Brasileira de Mulheres, Articulação de Mulheres Negras Brasileiras, AJPaz - Acção para a Justiça e Paz, Portugal).

Se Café Central program can be considered or official framework of criação do Manifesto, inumeras outras situações estão no embrião desse movimento, as a materia da revista semanal Focus (565/2010) that tinha as a coat stain "Os segredos da mulher brasileira" is the image of a semi-rosy, seminal mulher, endowed with a sculptural body. A material treatment of weddings between Brazilian and Portuguese - nenhum exemple of casamento between Portuguese and Brazilian foi apresentado -, showing-do começo ao fim full of stereotypes and clichês - "or carnival hard, hard, hard" - and illustrated com imagens that exhibiam, mainly, naked feminine corpos, festive atmospheres, praias and carnival. Ou seja, a material configured as a reproduction of sexist and stereotyped practices of the Portuguese media to introduce Brazil's native mulheres.

É of resgatar equally or episode "Mães de Bragança" in 2003, when Portuguese mulheres da cidade de Bragança protesram em nome da ordem, moral, family and two bons costumes against the presence of Brazilians who worked in alternative houses locais. Or I have had an excessive exposure for months, we printed and televised jornais (Cunha, 2005, 2007, Santos, 2007), contributed to the legitimization of a "moral pánico", um stigmatização e uma segregação social dessas imigrantes (Alvim e Togni, 2010). Freitas (2009) abordagem states that Portuguese da esse foi social comunicação on marcante for a consolidação de uma rigid symbolic equivalence between brasileiras and prostituição event. Agreed with the author, coverage given by day through the manchetes and materials two days of work, you give two telejornais das das imagens veiculadas - between photos and videos - contributed directly to a legitimation of social imagery that directly equals prostitutes to Brazilians.

The Portuguese media, as a matter of course, presents Brazilians as feminine, sexualized and erotic mulheres in the mid-range coverage of the case of "Mães de Bragança", which is intensively used imaginatively. Cunha (2005) reports that emphasizes imprensa Portuguese news about Mulheres Brasileiras envolved com prostituição schemes.

It is important to note, as well, that a Brazilian immigrant figure as an exotic and sexualized mulatto was born only a couple of Portuguese mediums. For years, or Brazilian government incentivized to image "tropical Brazilian mulher", using it to stimulate or international tourism for Brazil, "A mulata - a discursive and performative invention of race, gender and sexuality - and consolidated as a spectacularized identity. and sold as tourist attraction "(Gomes, 2009: 56). No case of Portugal, soma-se a isso or aggravating intense dissemination of Brazilian novels in various TV channels. Embora o foco das novelas não seja mainly or international sex market, as images transmitted nesses programs will end up contributing to reinforce or estereótipo da mulher brasileira assensual and erotic.

O Brazilian carnival and another element that was appropriate for the Portuguese media, being used to sustainably support Brazilian construction as a sensual and exotic mulatto. It was, on the one hand, or carnival, internationally transformed tourist marketing hair in two attractive principalities of Brazil, for another, a Brazilian mulher, a sensual, seminal mulatto figure, used as a major event (Gomes, 2009). Isto é, as demonstrou Gomes (2013), or discourse of tourism marketing in relação ao carnaval contributed fortemente for a criação do estereótipo de hipererotização das mulheres brasileiras.

This imaginary reinforces the constant association of Brazilian immigrants with atividades, not the sex market, the trafficking of human beings and prostitution. Além disso, tem um relevant role no process of insertion-exclusion social dessas mulheres na Portuguese society, accompanying all its migratory trajetória no country. Percebe-se que esse imaginário constituted itself as a subtle form of symbolic violence, which at times is concretized-through explorações, humilhações and, in some cases, situações reais de violência física. Offers of work mainly in jobs of precário work, baixos níveis de salário, hours of working day exaustivos, impossibilidade of alugar houses, piadas ofensive, maus dealings in public and private repartições, assédio, social isolamento, ausência de participação política, lack of socialização, desconhecimento dos direitos são algumas situações comumente experienced by essas mulheres (França, 2012).

As analyzes of "Manifesto", supported by previous studies (Cunha, 2005, Santos 2007), identify and reveal how or discourse of social communication in Portugal on Brazilian society is anchors, sobretudo, not colonial imaginary that presents mulheres das colônias as voluptuous, erotic, exotic, submissas, sexually livres and endowed with a different body of Europeans (Stolke, 2006; Pais, 2010), or that, dreamed of the dynamics of hipersexualização e racialização existing not country, leva as associem à prostituição e ao sex market (Piscitelli, 2008).

The stigma of hypersexuality goes back to the colonial imaginary, which built many colony as sexual objects (Stolke, 2006). In agreement with Gomes (2013), or impact of colonialism and determinant na exacerbação das

assimetrias between homens and mulheres nas colônias e between metropoles and colônias. Ao mesmo tempo, I contributed directly to the production of stereotypes, to the creation of a colonial imaginary relating to erotic and exotic and legitimacy of violence against mulheres das colônias.

This hypersexualized colonial imaginary intersects with other markers of difference, as a social classe. Due to the labor nature of the migratory flow of Brazilians for Portugal and the process of precarization and destabilization, not the Portuguese labor market, in general, as Brazilian immigrants, not a country, in the first place, we are segments of two economic strata. (França, 2012; Egreja e Peixoto, 2011). Mais ainda, embora, at the moment, at the international image of Brazil, it is a very important economic strength and, for many years, it has been conferred as a poor country that faces constant financial crises. Or lower econômico posicionamento das Brasileiras imigrantes na Sociedade Portuguesa também é outro do element reforçado by colonialism, exploração do corpo e das mulheres dos Homens das colônias or trabalho escravo (McClintock, 2010). These elements confluence so that, apart from being represented as hypersexualized mulheres, Brazilian immigrants in Portugal are built as poor, economically subaltern mulheres, reinforcing even more the mechanisms of social segregation and marginalization.

Following the analysis of how some two markers of difference are articulated in the experience of Brazilian immigrants in Portugal, a *raça* appears as fundamental. O conceito biological scientist of *raça* sustentou e legitimou during muitos years as práticas de segregação, violência, opressão, inferiorização e exclusão presents na nossa sociedade. We are days off, the ideology of racism continues to operate in reality, raising and reinforcing social hierarchies (Van Dijk, 2010). Compreender or racism as social and discursive practice and fundamental to understand or process racialização ao qual as mulheres brasileiras imigrantes estão submetidas em Portugal (Gomes, 2013).

As affirmed by Psicitelli (2008), independently da cor pa pele, in countries such as Itália, Portugal, Espanha, as mulheres brasileiras are racialized as mulatas and mestiças. Na análise de Gomes (2013) is given because the hierarchized binarisms "Europeu versus não europeu" and "metropole versus colônia" face that ideology and racist practices are intensely relayed on Brazilian companies in Portuguese society.

Now, in a simplified analogy, it could be said that the Brazilian multherers were immigrants in Portugal and reserved or in the same place that the black mulheres, not Brazil. By counting two devices of racism and sexism operating in a Brazilian society, as a colonial discourse, a black mulher and presented as an exotic mulher, hypersexualized, eroticized. Their essential identity is naturally presented as predisposing to sex. In other words, indepentemente da cor da pele, as brasileiras in Portugal passam hair mesmo process of hypersexualização das mulheres black and mulatto not Brazil, esse process

"ancorado nas imagens de seu passado escravo de corpo-procriação e / ou corpo-objeto do prazer do macho e senhor "(Silva e Rosenberg, 2008: 84).

This is a complex understanding of the discriminatory theories and pre-conceptions that cross Brazilian immigrants in Portugal with the denunciations of "Manifesto" transcendence or "Central Coffee" program and encompass all of the national social communication:

Apontamos to Portuguese social comunicação ea way as insistently tem built and gave voice or stigma of hipersexualidade das Mulheres Brasileiras. This stigma is a symbolic violence and transformed in physical, psychological, moral and sexual violence. (Manifesto em repúdio ao preconceito against as mulheres brasileiras in Portugal, 2011)

Assim, to demarcate some points from which emerges the oppressões to which Brazilian immigrants are exposed and some of their causes, suas consequências e that other paths are possible to be truncated for a deconstruction of reality, and thus, passing, to simple descrição das dynamics of dominação e subalternização as quais essas mulheres estão submetidas, or Manifesto assumiu seu caráter feminist, deceived and critical.

Among high points of your repercussion, for além gives coverage given us jornais, é to citar or espaço that to its own issuer RTP abriu no dia 12 novembro of 2011, em seu program "To voice do cidadão", to discuss to presented denounce Document and commitment commitment Assumed by the Ministry of the Presidency of the Republic of Brazil (SPM) regarding the requirement that the Portuguese authorities take necessary measures to eliminate forms of discrimination and symbolic violence against a Brazilian mulher not a country. Além disso, foram sent respostas of proprio da proppria SPM e do High Comissariado for Equality and Intercultural Dialogue, Public Institute (ACIDI, IP) of Portugal. Another louvavel result foi o fto de a movimentação ter achieved the support of different groups, crossing the limits of raça, idade, identidade, classe, religion and nationality and configuring itself as an exemplar of transnational solidariedade.

No day 30 of November 2012, apósso recesso de férias, when or "Café Central" voltou ao ar a personagem "Gina" has been withdrawn from the cast of nova season. Embora não tenha has been given the official note of the emissary, or group of articulação accredits that to saída da personagem esteja directly linked to social pressão resulta da mobilização gerada.

Featiful Lady, even if it is reconfirmed that other measures of oppression and sexualization of Brazilian women in Portugal are not available, the members of Manifesto considered that the objective of the document was achieved, in virtue of the program's personage, of the demerits ouvidas hairs of communication and bodies responsáveis in both countries, of or debate about a topic constantly ignored has been raised - or racism eo sexism existing in portuguese media - but, mainly, by ter given visibilidade to a experience of autonomy, auto-organização e agência das mulheres brasileiras immigrants in Portugal.

Em uma análise foucaultiana (Foucault, 2002) o Manifesto could be considered as a form of resistance to hegemonic and dominant power, nesse case, starring hairs speeches Portuguese media. I have not Manifesto uma practical that visa à feesa pela liberdade, ou seja, a direct attack to or colonial, sexist and racist imagery that imprisons the Brazilian mulheres not stereotype of mulattos hipersexualizadas, erotic and exotic. A velha and repeated Foucauldian maxim that "where we have power to resist" and muito bem-vinda to help to remove Brazilian mulheres from the place of passive vimimas. It is known that the power to além of truths also produced resistances and articulation of Manifesto can be addressed as a practice of resistance that is destined for liberation and autonomy.

For fim, gostaria scarcely to ressaltar that na composição two members of Manifesto havia um a central nucleus that has as a function to promote articulation as demais ONGs and associações, responding perente to social communication and gerar as ferramentas virtuais used, embora a construção do texto ea organização do movimento tenham decoded in a participative and abbreviated way, through social networks, the Facebook page is available to all the people interested in collaborating. This group was formed exclusively by Brazilian feminists, resident diplomats living in Portugal, não havendo a participação de nenhum / a ativista, representative of two social movements or mulheres and external homens / academia. Mesmo that, as described above, organizações, movimentos e associações brasileiras tenham apoiado o Manifesto, no present naquele moment no Brazil engajou na coordenação do grupo. Após to delivery gives petição online and do recebimento das respostas do ACIDI, IP and gives SPM, or core articulação do Manifesto encerrou suas atividades, ainda that page do Facebook permaneça ative, bem as situações of discriminação, racism, sexism and Preconceito will continue to happen to Brazilian mulheres in Portugal.

Entre a experiência do Manifesto e investigações sobre migrações

I am Two Thirds of the World in One Third of the World. I am clearly part of the social minority, with all its privileges; however, my political decisions and struggles and my vision in favor of change place me next to Two Thirds of the World. So, I'm with Two Thirds of the World, but with the privileges of One Third of the World. I speak as a person located in a Third of the World, but from space and vision, and in solidarity with the struggling communities in Two Thirds of the World. (Mohanty, 2003: 417)

For his main role of denouncing or racism, or sexism and discrimination of Portuguese media against Brazilian residents not a country, or Manifesto foi também um a space of activism that will allow me to generate questions about different realities of immigrants from Brazil in Portugal, rethink minhas analyses about the experiences of the Brazilian non-foreign women, to evaluate minha pratica acadêmica e meu engajamento as a feminist and migrant activism, to fabricate resistances and to reveal inequalities, being by is considered, by mim, as a framework na minha scientific production.

Ao integrate or group of articulação fiz uma ideological escolha afetou, giving it moment in time, to written minha tese de doutorado, of minhas investigações vindouras e meu posicionamento acadêmico. The experience of Manifesto inspired me to seek and establish, in my studies on immigrant women, between academic feminism and political organization, as suggested by Mohanty (2003). No particular case da tese, as theoretical analysts, bem like two materiais collides not field, assumiram, sem lose or scientific rigor, um political character denouncing mechanisms of oppression and domination aos quais muitas das imigrantes brasileiras estão expostas. Essa opção pautava-se peloimento de que o campo de investigação é mais do que um simples espaço onde observações são made and impressões colhidas sendo, sobretudo, a living and rich space of other knowledge that needs to be incorporated into a production conhecimento, so qual as theories offered hairs livros. E apoiava-se também na percepção that não serious possível, tampouco was meu interesse I do dissociar-me instead of imigrante Brasileira e desconsiderar all implicações as that isso para mim enquanto trazia social scientist and, consequentemente for meu trabalho.

Once again, you are feminist foram essenciais so that it is possible to slip between the places of researcher, ativista and mulher imigrante fosse possível. Pois, criticized the classical and modern scientific models, feminist epistemologies and methodologies claim a space for political or, as impressões, questionamentos, as indignações, as sensações e biografia do / a researcher sejam incorporated na prática científica, uma Once as emoções não são dissociadas da razão e são necessárias para a produção do conhecimento (Harding, 1987, Tavares, Coelho e Góis, 2009).

Alo longo desse percurso, apoiei-me na selfreflexividade, I do not intuit to place my place of researcher as an object of analysis and assuming me as mulher brasileira imigrante, researcher and ativista. I take self-reflexivity as a confection in itself, more sim, as a possibility to investigate realities based on theoretical assumptions, as well as not a place of enunciation (Cunha, 2011). And at the same time, reconceiving as a ferramenta that opens space for the importance of experiences, contingences and the biographical dimension, not the construction process of confection.

Or understanding não é uma derivative entity of a purified reason in the case of the isolate of the world but a contextualized process in which individual rationality is subject to constant intromissões, interferências da razão de outrem. There are recent and long histories, experiences and a contingent of subjectivities, to use the words of Donna Haraway, that relate to a relational and, at the same time, a biographical dimension that can not be discarded. (Cunha, 2011: 78)

Assumir-me different espaços em that estive present as "mulher brasileira imigrante", ao invés of "researcher in scientific mobilidade", imply minha biografia em minhas analáes, demarcate in em writes a positioned position that

take em conta as relações de gênero, assuming the political pressures involved in social transformation that sustain minha produção e abrir mão do suposto absolute knowledge that modern science and traditional academy insistem em to sustain, sem ignore the importance of scientific rigor, foram algumas characteristics that tend to incorporate em minha pratica acadêmica Empreendia, pois, or exercício diary of reconhecer-me not the role of social scientist as um "subject that escreve, vê, lê, escuta e sente e não as a machine that decodes or real to chegar à true absolute" (Benzaquen, 2008: 22).

Apesar of já ter decorrido mais five years moro em Portugal, continued to identify-me (e sou constantly lembrada) as uma imigrante Brasileira Mulher, Classificação that sobrepõe à minha posição of research, à minha social classe, ao meu status Immigrant regularized, for example. Logo, continued to be "estrangeira", an element that is not natural of a certain country, being esse, therefore, my place of enunciation, or place of "outro". Assim, or reconhecimento da alteridade that I fit in two central aspects that accompany the theoretical reflections and confrontations that underlie my studies and the constant exercício of avaliação about what practical science.

Defino minha participação no articulação do Manifesto group as an experiência that will directly dialogue with the academic feminist pressupostos en prática politics, which or at the same time will provide com ciência e ativismo, e que requereu de mim um deslocamento two walls of Universidade para o campo, onde to life and more pulsating. Elevou à maxim potência a fusão between meu eu-researcher and meu eu-ativista, demaniu of mim um a clear and radical political position, forçou-me to confront minhas opções teóricas com minha prática everyday.

Reconhecer-me as an effective member of the articulation group of Manifesto, it was no longer just a question of placing theories in dialogue from a critical point of view, involving, overriding, denouncing the frameworks of oppression of Brazil's forty-one countries, we are effectively submerged in Portugal and Empreender ações no sense that this reality is altered. Ao mesmo tempo, absorbs new elements to rethink my modes of production and instrumentalization of conhecimento that eu built on a feminização da imigração brasileira para o país. TO Unpredicted militance of the group, supported by critical feminist epistemologies, allows me to reinforce the research of what research, the society and the society, the practice and the practice, not the pairs of opposites, but the complementary sim.

What kind of contribution did a Manifesto trouxe for a feminist movement and for Brazilian immigrants in Portugal contribute to, what type of knowledge did it produce from this experience? How could it be practiced at the same time as a scientific production? Do you take advantage of this experience for studies on gender and migration? eram indagações that tive as a guide in meus writings and that enrichment minhas analyses and reflexões.

Alem questões para minha prática acadêmica, or Manifesto também me suscitou incômodos até hoje não resolved. O fto that or group of articulação tenha been led mainly by Brazilian academics fez-me questionar até that ponto não we are to repeat dynamics of power hierarchies and intellectual, placing us as "those who give voice to Brazilian mulheres really oppressed". As for why we are not able to communicate with other realities, we are receptive to the participation of all those who wish to contribute? Or what prevented the experience from learning from the organization of Manifesto tivesse continuidade em outras ações, ou até mesmo, desse origem, for example, to an Associação de Mulheres Brasileiras em Portugal - coletivo até hoje non-existent no país? To denounce that Brazilian mulheres in Portugal are oppressed, racism and sexism will not homogenize all Brazilian immigrants, not the role of privacy and invisibilize the experiences of other mulheres that davam a volta em tal situação?

Nesses moments of anxiety, the exercícios gives autoreflexividade of scientific and political self-criticism, mesmo não tendo offered concrete and definitive respostas mantinham-me attentive, e ainda more restless for the rumos that minha participação eo propio Manifesto estavam taking.

Porém, that experience also produced something that can not be thought of. Sem contradizer minhas próprias criticism to or conservatism, à hierarchy e ao political distance that a ciência normally sustains, and important não lose sight or fato that o Manifesto was organized not seio academia e that, as referred above, was conducted exclusively by academic Ou seja, a Organization of Manifesto constitutes an example of how or potential critical and transforming da ciência can contribute to the social movements. It is, on the one hand, a deconstruction of hegemonic thinking and colonization of the hair that reconnects that the knowledges produced are not relevant and are important for the construction of an emancipated society, and that it is important not to initiate an alternative movement. which totally disregards or paper gives scientific production acadêmica nesse processo. No case do Manifesto, or fato of ele ter been reached base by algumas discussões two academic feminisms Dava or such Alento I referred to above, uma vez that mostrou as uma Possibilidade concrete or scientific knowledge of how com os sociais Prune movimentos dialogue.

Considerations and continuous questions

Já não é mais possível dizer that mulheres is configured as a group considered to be migratory groups due to an increase in the number of researches that elect imigrants as subject of analysis. Contudo, such não means that esses estudos assumam um feminist character and engaged with the transformation of inequalities between genres e com a produção of innovative and critical knowledge about a migração feminina.

A careful review of the literature on gender and migration shows that there are also two studies on immigrant women who have less hair on their

face: repetition of colonialist practices of production that represent immigrants as inferior subjects and enriched, enriched by their ability to of agência; a review of subjects that are exhaustingly stuccoed, or that makes invisible experiences less common than those of the mulheres; incapable of assimilating different sexual identities analogous, maintaining assim, heteronormative and sexist research sponsors (Curran et al 2006, Donato et al., 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2011; Nawyn, 2010). Daí is a critique of the need for innovative studies on the phenomena of migratório das mulheres, based on a critical and radical feminist approach. Investigações that elicit a discussion located, partial, in historical and political conjunção e com as dynamics sociais in force not that respects the feminization of migration and that, mainly, adotem or pressuposto that a consistent confecimento e produtor de mudança social só é possível em connection to practice and not exercício of estranhamento e da perplexidade dante da realidade, as propõem Narvaz e Koller (2007).

From the analysis of the Manifesto in the Brazilian mulheres in Portugal, it has been necessary to exemplify how feminist theories can contribute to or develop two migratory studies. Ao mesmo tempo, almejei apontar a specific field of research on Brazilian immigrants practically nonexistent, that é or gives social mobilização and political associativism. Such fato, é um event that requires a turning point na academic production on these mulheres, posto that maioria two estudos tem debruçado on questões identitárias, sex market and trafficking of human beings for purposes of sexual exploration, labor insertion, casamentos transnacionais (Almeida, 2008; Baldwin, 2010; Beserra, 2007; Cavalcanti, 2006; Margolis, 1998; Padilla, 2007; Piscitelli, 2011) promoting dessa maneira, ainda that despropositadamente, a desconhecimento about other experiences and realities.

H um artigo, also written by members of the articulation group, which was sent for a review (...)

O Manifesto desloca a Brazilian immigrant of mulher passive, hypersexualized, victimized, subaltern role, presenting a capacity for resistance, ação, autonomia e mobilização dessas mulheres, among which I include myself. Contudo, até hoje, apos dois anos de sua criação e apesar da grande repercussão that teve, com exceção de um simpósio organized by members of articulation group not congressed International Femigra - Feminism and Migration in Barcelona in 2011, nenhum estudo foi realized, nem no Brasil, nem em Portugal. 3 Ou seja, continue- a a invisibilizar ea manter no desconhecimento uma unpublished and transnational feminist experience of political organization das imigrantes brasileiras. And as I said before, such a silêncio não é aleatório or casual, é sim, consequência of a colonialist and sexist tradição that entails experiences of emancipation, especially when they are starred by mulheres.

No particular case, as a matter of fact, due to the experience of Manifesto povoou-me de provocações. What kind of knowledge about as imigrações tenho produzido? Tenho managed to create spaces for a promotion of dialogue be-

tween different knowledge? What place do I reserve for minha prática ativista em meu acadêmico daily? Participate in social movements and enough to overcome the dichotomy between ciência e pratica? To recognize a partiality of my knowledge and to look for complete experience as well as a converse to the writing of the text, for example, what is meant by decolonizing or knowing? As é possível pôr em pratica uma construção de conhecimento, não just about immigrant mulheres, more sobretudo com mulheres imigrantes? Minha produção tem atendido meus apelos of contributing to the construction of studies on immigrant mulheres não colonizadores, criticos e engajados? How have you contributed to the construction of novos caminhos no sense of social transformation for research on immigrant mulheres?

These are answers that I hope I can never find to lose or a constant practice of avaliação da minha pratica and I do not work as a researcher, because such as feminine teachings, to the responsibility of a critical science and to the production of universal truths ou absolute respostas, more sim for com sua reavaliação constant. Obter final respostas and irrevogáveis for as perguntas would mean ignoring dinâmica acima da construção do conhecimento e da Sociedade própria, desconsiderar to impossibilidade of alcançar uma verdade ea Ineffective only know um rigid and inquestionável. Ou seja, configure-se-ia como uma repetição das Cartesian and modern practices of conceber or exercício da produção de saber as something passível of being imprisoned. Such an understanding goes directly from the understanding of feminist epistemologies that almejam a critical and plural science. Desta form, tais indagações devem guide meus continuously written, pois or desconforto eo incômodo da dúvida são os engines of continuous process of analysis of quality of commitment of conhecimento that tenho produced.

Mais ainda, to grandiosidade e complexidade do Manifesto face que questões por ele elect sejam infundáveis. For além das reflexões on própria prática academic and ativista minha, to experiência do Manifesto também oferece subsidies for refletir on a articulação and political associação Brasileiras em Portugal e mulheres em Geral das imigrantes. A Organização do Manifesto foi pontual e, embora tenha extrapolated for outras discussões, girou em torno de um ponto specific - or Café Central program and midiática das brasileiras in Portugal. Logo, a question that fica How would it be possible to create spaces that give rise to a permanent political participation of immigrant mulheres? Variedade Dentro da Mulher experience to be imigrante congregates, which discussões comuns atravessariam to luta dessas mulheres e contribuíram for or fortalecimento of ação sua policy? Essas perguntas são, assim as earlier as that possuem não uma resposta unique and absolute, rather than contribute to or fortalecimento podem political culture engajada and atuante immigrant groups mulheres, sendo by isso extremely important.

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Ways to optimizing the role of international organizations in resolving for the South Caucasus conflict, Nagorno Karabakh

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Abstract *From 1992 to 2005 OSCE Minsk Group presented three proposals as a basis for negotiations, which, however, did not lead to a settlement of the conflict. . In April-July 2006, the Co-Chairs of the Minsk Group published a statement and made several statements, which revealed part of the proposals for a settlement. These proposals included a phased withdrawal of Armenian forces and the demilitarization of the territories surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh, a special regime for the Lachin and Kelbajar districts (including the corridor between Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia) and a referendum that will finally determine the status of Nagorno-Karabakh. International peacekeepers in the conflict zone and international assistance in demining and restoring the occupied territories and regions of Nagorno-Karabakh affected by the war and returning internally displaced persons were also supposed.*

Keywords: *South Caucasus, Nagorno Karabakh, conflict, Minsk Group*

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the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, referred to as "Madrid", was presented to the parties in November 2007 in Madrid. Since 2005, with the support of the OSCE, the delegations of Azerbaijan and Armenia began to discuss the fourth "mixed" ("package-phased") plan, which presupposes a preliminary agreement on the basic principles. The basic principles include the following provisions:

Return of the territories around Nagorno-Karabakh under the control of Azerbaijan

Provision of an intermediate status for Nagorno-Karabakh, providing guarantees of security and self-government

Providing a corridor linking Armenia with Nagorno-Karabakh

Determination of the future final legal status of Nagorno-Karabakh by legally binding will

Return of all internally displaced persons and refugees to their former homes

International security guarantees and peacekeeping operations¹.

Despite the fact that the text of the proposals was not published, Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov stated that they supported the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, and Armenian Foreign Minister V. Oskanian asserted that the principles supported Armenia's position on the self-determination of Nagorno-Karabakh.

March 14th in 2008, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution calling on Armenia to immediately and without conditions release the occupied territories of Azerbaijan with 39 votes in favor, 7 against and 100 abstentions. The co-chair countries of the Minsk Group (USA, Russia, and France) were against the adoption of this resolution, since it, in their opinion, is one-sided. However, they indicated that despite their voting on the document, they support the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. On June 28, 2008, the Russian co-chairman of the Minsk Group, Yuri Merzlyakov, stated that only 4 of the 14-15 basic principles cause disagreements of the parties, and "the rest, one can say, do not cause different interpretations". On August 1, 2008, the OSCE Minsk Group Co-Chair Matthew Bryza announced some details of the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Bryza's statement stated that "A referendum will be held to determine the Karabakh people themselves" and "The people of Nagorno-Karabakh will decide for themselves whether the republic will come under the jurisdiction of Azerbaijan or become independent" ⁸.

On 2 August, the head of the international relations department of the executive office of the President of Azerbaijan, Novruz Mammadov, stated that a referendum would be possible in 15-20 years and only after the liberation of seven occupied areas and the return of Azerbaijani refugees and IDPs to their places of residence. On November 2, 2008, the Mayendorf Declaration was signed by the Presidents of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Russia in the Moscow Region. In particular, it stated that the parties "confirm the importance of the mediation efforts continued by the Co-Chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group, taking into account their meeting with the parties in Madrid on November 29, 2007 and subsequent discussions to further develop the basic principles of a political settlement." 10. July 10 2009¹ in the Italian city of L'Aquila during the summit of the "Big Eight" 1 adopted a joint statement by the presidents of the countries co-chairing the Minsk Group of OSCE - Russia, France and the United States. The statement published the main principles of the Karabakh settlement and instructed the co-chairs to present an updated version of the Madrid document of 2007 to the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan.

In December 2009, the updated Madrid principles were presented to the President of Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliyev, and in January 2010 to the President of Armenia, Serzh Sarkisyan, by the co-chairs of the Minsk Group. March 5, 2010 in Paris, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan Elmar Mammadyarov brought to the attention of the mediators that Azerbaijan, apart from some exceptions, generally accepts the document proposed on the basis of the updated Madrid proposals. In March, the President of Azerbaijan announced his acceptance of the principles with "minor exceptions" and in June, he voiced the position that "Azerbaijan, in principle, agrees with the updated Madrid principles. True, in these proposals (updated Madrid principles) there are certain points that can not satisfy us. But they are the most technical and editorial.

The "road map" in relation to the Karabakh settlement was actively discussed at the junction of 2009-2010, when the idea of a settlement process was put forward at a political and expert level through the creation of a "road map". At the end of 2009, Kazakhstan, as the OSCE chairman-state, declared its readiness to offer Armenia and Azerbaijan a plan for resolving the conflict according to a "road map". It was stated that "the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan, Kanat Saudabayev, announced the creation of a "road map" for the settlement of the Karabakh conflict. Before that, he visited Azerbaijan, Armenia, and made sure that there were positive changes in the positions of the sides." 2

Already in October 2010, a few days before the Astrakhan meeting of the

three presidents, US Representative to the OSCE, Jan Kelly, noting the anxiety of the situation on the ceasefire line in the Karabakh conflict zone, stated that at this stage "the most important thing is that the parties continue to talk each other to ensure a diplomatic process." Regarding the expectations of American diplomacy from the upcoming OSCE Summit in Astana, J. Kelly mentioned the possibility of a "road map" in the Karabakh settlement in the context of "inviting the parties to at least agree on a certain" road map "to resolve the conflict" 2 . The development and implementation of a roadmap by international organizations in relation to the process of resolving complex inter-state conflicts is not something new. [3] Several years ago, international organizations attempted to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by adopting a road map. The roadmap for resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict was published by the US State Department on behalf of the Quartet of international mediators (USA, EU, Russia, UN) on April 30, 2003. The "road map" of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, which was approved at the highest level of international mediation, was never implemented, and few people remember it today. The "road map" of the Palestinian-Israeli settlement was formulated precisely as a step-by-step process with its specific stages, when each subsequent stage logically follows from the implementation of the previous one. The "roadmap" of any process of settling an interstate conflict is a plan for achieving political goals, which means, first of all, a plan for political settlement. That is, it is supposed to solve political and legal issues with the help of international organizations. As the international practice shows, the "road map" has two outcomes: either an actual breakthrough (which has not yet been observed in international practice), or a lack of settlement dynamics (which is almost always the case).

International organizations propose the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict with the help of the "road map". Analyzing international experience. International organizations consider that "one can hope that the presence of a "road map" in the Karabakh settlement will be another element of stability and a relative guarantee of non-proliferation of the conflict beyond its current type and spatial range" 4 .

"The conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan is the main threat to regional security and stability. The earliest resolution of this conflict based on international law is in the interests of all parties," Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev told Lithuanian President Dalia Grybauskaite during a visit to Baku 2-May 3 Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev emphasized the phased principle of the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. "Armenia should demonstrate

a constructive approach to the proposals of the OSCE Minsk Group, take a step forward and start moving out from the occupied territories of Azerbaijan. Only after that peace can be established in our region", the Azerbaijani President stressed. In this context, President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev recalled the report of the OSCE field assessment mission conducted in October 2010 in the territories adjacent to Nagorno-Karabakh: "The report clearly states that in the occupied territories the entire infrastructure is destroyed, there are facts of illegal settlement. Attempts are being made to change the historical names of districts, administrative borders; there are many other evidences of the aggressive policy of Armenia. There are also seven regions of Azerbaijan under occupation, located outside the administrative borders of the Nagorno-Karabakh region. We suffer from a policy of ethnic cleansing. One million Azerbaijanis found themselves in the position of refugees and internally displaced persons in their native land. About 20% of the internationally recognized territory of Azerbaijan is under occupation. Nagorno-Karabakh is an integral part of Azerbaijan. Of course, the conflict must be resolved on the basis of the norms and principles of international law. " It should be noted that the OSCE tried to directly participate in resolving the conflict, but was largely pushed aside by the great powers - the co-chairs of the Minsk Group. "In fact, the United States, Russia and France, and not the OSCE, are deciding the fate of the conflict in highland Karabakh⁵.

The OSCE Lisbon Summit played a particularly important role in shaping the principles for resolving the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. National leader Heydar Aliyev described his role in the Lisbon summit: "I am convinced that the work carried out in Lisbon in connection with the conflict situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, the decisions made at the Lisbon meeting will bring its benefit to security and cooperation in Europe. During the period of participation and stay at the Lisbon summit, I thought about what Azerbaijan would receive from this summit, tried for the sake of the interests of Azerbaijan.

Heydar Aliyev played a special role in attracting the OSCE to the problem of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Azerbaijan as an independent state since 1992 has participated in OSCE summits. But there was no benefit from such participation. In 1992, the Azerbaijani delegation headed by the President of Azerbaijan participated in the summit held in Helsinki. " But, unfortunately, we cannot understand what was involved in this, which delegation of Azerbaijan carried out activities. After all, 1992 was very difficult and difficult for Azerbaijan. First, Azerbaijan only gained independence then. And secondly, the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict in 1992, we can say, reached its most

terrible level. In such a situation, of course, it was possible to effectively use the OSCE summit. But, apparently, this did not happen”.

Heydar Aliyev managed to defend the interests of Azerbaijan at the OSCE Istanbul Summit (1999), which was one of the biggest events of the twentieth century, because it discussed the security of countries in the 21st century, peace, democracy and a number of related issues. During the Istanbul Summit, contracts were signed on the main oil pipeline - the Baku-Ceyhan oil pipeline for exporting Azerbaijani oil to world markets, as well as documents on the Caspian gas pipeline, that is, the transportation of Turkmen gas to Turkey through the Caspian Sea, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. Therefore, the Istanbul Summit, being a great historical event for Europe, the world, at the same time, is a double historical event for Azerbaijan. The Armenian delegation at the Istanbul Summit began to talk about the oil blackmail of Azerbaijan. “I can safely say that the OSCE Istanbul Summit has been above all previous summits since 1975, when their foundation was laid. Azerbaijan considers its participation and representation in the OSCE summit to be a great historical event. The Baku-Ceyhan oil pipeline and the Caspian gas pipeline are, of course, of political importance. We do not deny this. These documents, signed by us from both economic and political interests, were received in some countries with strong protest, but we will further develop our industry and international cooperation.”⁶ Subscribed to Istanbul Agreement construction of the Baku-Ceyhan and Trans-Caspian gas pipeline had not only energy focus. They became a catalyst for political life in the whole Black Sea-Caspian region, since GUAM (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova) was created, which Armenia could not enter. The key idea of creating GUAM was the transportation of Caspian energy carriers to European market. Events like in Istanbul and so at member countries of the GUUAM testified the alliance’s gradual shift in emphasis from economic issues, i.e. creating transport corridors on military and political. GUUAM was created with the support of the United States. Countries included in this association, began to develop close cooperation with NATO countries in Partnership for Peace and increasingly move away from the influence of Russia.

The development and promotion of the peace agreement between Armenia and Azerbaijan was carried out by the High Level Planning Group (Group of planning of a high level - GPHL) OSCE, but, at the moment, its efforts have not been crowned with success. It should be noted that the OSCE tried to directly participate in resolving the conflict, but was largely pushed aside by the great powers - the co-chairs of the Minsk Group. “In fact, the United

States, Russia and France, and not the OSCE, are deciding the fate of the conflict in highland Karabakh."7

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Therefore, our desire, our goal was to achieve great success here. I recall that within two years after the Budapest meeting prior to the Lisbon meeting, Azerbaijan fully respected the cease-fire. We have done a very big and very serious work in preparing our position at the Lisbon summit. We set out to move forward, taking into account the work that we carried out during the period from the Budapest Summit to the Lisbon. We had meetings and negotiations in Helsinki, in Vienna, we worked fruitfully"8.

It is very important to note that during the work of the Lisbon summit, the situation for Azerbaijan was very difficult, although according to preliminary agreements a resolution should be adopted that would support the right to integrity and indivisibility of the state. 9 The Azerbaijani delegation got acquainted with the prepared declaration, in which there was a paragraph relating to the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. However, this item was completely neutral, it did not identify the aggressor and the victim, and did not indicate a violation of the integrity of Azerbaijani territory. "Our main goal was not reflected in the draft Declaration. - said Heydar Aliyev. Our main goal was to approve or endorse at the Lisbon summit the most acceptable formula for a fair resolution of the issues of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in the future. This formula was that the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan should be recognized by all countries, including Armenia, the solution of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict should be implemented only within the framework of the recognition of the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. But due to the fact that Armenia has always opposed this thesis and expressed strong protest to it during the preparatory period, the preparatory group was not able to achieve the inclusion of these concepts in the draft Lisbon Declaration.

There was a clause that confirmed that negotiations were going on, but they did not bring any results. Negotiations should continue in the future, there

should be a compromise and the issue should be resolved peacefully - its overall content was this" 10..

There is no doubt that the national leader could not agree with such a draft Lisbon Declaration. Therefore, as Heydar Aliyev later recalled, he personally held many responsible meetings, negotiations, gave decisive instructions to our representatives in the preparatory group to fight for changing the draft Lisbon Declaration. "These instructions consisted in the fact that in the project put forward last time in Helsinki by the co-chairs of the Minsk Group there was an acceptable formula for solving the conflict. It consisted of three elements, points: recognition territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, granting high status of autonomy to the Nagorno-Karabakh within Azerbaijan and guaranteeing the security of the entire population of Nagorno-Karabakh. The goal was to achieve the inclusion of this formula in the draft declaration of the Lisbon Summit

Extremely hard work was done. Finally, we managed to include this draft in the draft declaration. This is reflected in the 20th paragraph. True, this item does not fully suit us. But we saw that it was impossible to achieve the best. We thought that if these three principles consisting of those three elements are reflected there, it will give an opportunity to take them as a basis in further negotiations. I used all the features. At all the talks, the heads of state, high-ranking representatives of individual states fully endorsed and confirmed the validity of our demands. Many managers frankly agreed with me that the 20th paragraph of the declaration was supposed to be. However, the OSCE has the principle of consensus. If a country does not give consent, the principle of consensus is violated, then the question cannot be included in the document that will be adopted, and no one can prevent it" 11 .

However, the Armenian side opposed the 20th point, such a destructive position of the Armenian side did not allow to reach a consensus. The national leader was forced to take a very bold and decisive step, which the Armenian side did not expect. Heydar Aliyev said that if the 20th point is not adopted, Azerbaijan will not give consensus on the entire declaration. This would mean the failure of the Lisbon summit itself. Later, Heydar Aliyev recalled that this was the only true tactical maneuver. Nationwide leader managed to gain time. "A new band of particularly intensive negotiations has begun, which were measured not in hours, but in minutes. As a result, the negotiations held on December 2 and continuing from the night of December 2 to the 3rd, the negotiations started in the early morning of December 3 showed that Azerbaijan would not back down from its position. The heads of state of the OSCE member states and all the

summit organizers saw a real danger that not a single document could accept the summit. After that, I received suggestions on ways out of the situation. I replied that only and only the adoption of the 20th paragraph of the Declaration can be a way out. I stated that the heads of the delegations should not work with me, but should meet with the Armenian President and explain the whole situation with him, so that he would agree to save the 20th item.¹²

Armenian President Ter-Petrosyan, speaking at the OSCE Lisbon Summit on Nagorno-Karabakh, said that Nagorno-Karabakh cannot be part of Azerbaijan and this issue can only be resolved on the basis of the principle of self-determination. And if Nagorno-Karabakh is part of Azerbaijan, then Azerbaijan will massacre against the Armenians. A map of the long-suffering Armenian people and genocide was played. Despite Armenian provocations, Heydar Aliyev again began active diplomatic negotiations and personal consultations and conversations, which forced the OSCE leaders to prepare new proposals. So the national leader broke the Armenian attempts to recognize the integrity of the Azerbaijani land.

New proposals were prepared by the Russian Federation, the United States of America, the OSCE Chairman-in-Office, Swiss Foreign Minister Flavio Cotti, and representatives of several large states. This proposal and the statement of the OSCE chairman presented me to President of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev an hour before the start of the last summit meeting. "I got acquainted with him, made some amendments. I stated that if this statement is accepted, I can withdraw my protest and give a consensus of the declaration of the Lisbon summit, only that this summit The OSCE was not inconclusive. So it happened. All those who watched the last meeting of the Lisbon summit, saw that I had received an offer, I said that I would not withdraw my protest, the 20th paragraph should remain. Armenian President did not withdraw his protest. Then they asked me what I would do if such a statement was made? I asked to read the statement. After he was read, I stated that if such a statement was adopted and included in the documents of the OSCE Lisbon Summit, then I would give consent to the adoption of the declaration. And so it happened" ¹³.

With his characteristic modesty, the national leader recalled his role at the Lisbon summit. But it is known that after the speech of Heydar Aliyev, statements were made by the Chairman of the OSCE, Mr. Flavio Cotti, and all the OSCE members approved the Lisbon Declaration. There were separate comments, in particular, the representative of the United States of America, the leaders of the co-chair countries of the Minsk Group, the head of the Russian

delegation, the head of the delegation of Turkey, made the Prime Minister of Ireland's statement on behalf of the European Union and said that the Lisbon Declaration was supported by all European Member States Union

Thus, thanks to the wise and persistent position of nationwide leader Heydar Aliyev, a great victory was achieved at the Lisbon summit. For the first time at the level of the OSCE summit, there were principles for resolving the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, consistent with the OSCE Charter. These were the following principles: recognition of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Azerbaijan, provision of high self-government status to Azerbaijan and provision of security guarantees to the entire population of Nagorno-Karabakh. Speaking at the OSCE Lisbon Summit, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev said: "The Azerbaijani side will continue to make efforts to resolve the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict by peaceful means. We will remain committed to the cease-fire regime, we will try to resolve the issue peacefully, the direct negotiations between Azerbaijan and Armenia, conducted by representatives of both presidents, will continue. I believe that after the OSCE adopted the Lisbon Declaration, the OSCE Minsk Group should negotiate in the framework of this fundamental document. I think that a good basis has been created for our future work on resolving the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict by peaceful means. 14

Heydar Aliyev played a special role in attracting the OSCE to the problem of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Azerbaijan as an independent state since 1992 has participated in OSCE summits. But there was no benefit from such participation. In 1992, the Azerbaijani delegation headed by the President of Azerbaijan participated in the summit held in Helsinki. " But, unfortunately, we cannot understand what was involved in this, which delegation of Azerbaijan carried out activities. After all 1992 was very difficult and difficult for Azerbaijan. First, Azerbaijan only gained independence then. And secondly, the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict in 1992, we can say, reached its most terrible level. In such a situation, of course, it was possible to effectively use the OSCE summit. But, apparently, this did not happen .

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Mesters`s performing in Spain cultural heritage

Davila Sylvia

Abstract *Over the past 40 years, educational researchers around the world have sought to unravel the factors that explain school outcomes, measured by student learning achievement. At this point there is a broad consensus among specialists. The explanatory factors are three: the personal ones, the socio-familiar environment of the students and the effectiveness of the educational institution.*

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Each of these factors has a specific weight in the results obtained by the students. In the case of developed countries, the studies attribute a weight of 80% and 20%, respectively, to the family and the educational institution. In Latin America, the assigned weights are 60% and 40%, respectively, underlining the fact that where there is more poverty, the educational institution is also more important.

1.1 Factor educational institution

An investigation carried out by Fuller and Clarke (cited by Irahola J. 2005), based on more than 300 studies conducted on educational systems in developing countries, allows us to see what percentage of these studies show a positive association between the respective input and the results obtained by the students.

If a more restricted and demanding methodological perspective is adopted, the effectiveness of the educational institution is determined, mainly, by the effectiveness of the teachers in the classroom.

In general, it is estimated that the effect "educational institution" depends, in about 2/3 parts, on the quality of teaching provided. In turn, this is determined, in descending order of importance, by the following variables: the teaching practices of the teacher in the classroom; teacher professional development (mastery of the subject that teaches and ability to teach students of different sociofamiliar origin) and inputs (course size, initial education and teacher experience).

According to Fuller (cited in Irahola, 2005) "... the influence of the quality of the educational institution on academic performance is stronger in poor countries, and among the poorest students in developing countries." That is, the difference between having or not having a text, a notebook and a desk is more determinant of the level of learning achieved than social class. What the students belong to. The fact that the teacher has a methodological guide to do the classes can have more impact on the performance of the students than that the families stimulate their children with their progress.

An important distinction to consider in relation to factors associated with performance has to do with the possibility or impossibility of being modified through corrective measures, so that these result in a higher academic performance. It is possible to distinguish such factors based on the ability to influence them. Thus, we recognize at least two types of situations: those that claim to be related to alterable variables of the educational process, that is, that can be modified through planned actions and structural factors that have to do with the general social system and that do not. They are alterable from the educational system in the short term.

Research conducted in Latin America on the alterable variables that affect learning grouped them into three categories: educational resources, educational processes and teacher variables.

1.1.1 Educational resources

There are strong data that show that in the poorest countries of the region the amount and type of resources available to educational institutions is a determining factor in performance levels. Among these evidences are the following: Cost per student.- Specially referred to those investments destined to pedagogical resources and instructional teams. These strategies must be accompa-

nied by training and training for teachers to learn to use and maximum performance mode that resources effectively produce enriched learning experiences.

As you can see in the graph, the cost per student has increased gradually since 1990; in the same way, the cost per student promoted has been increased

As can be seen, the cost per student promoted (gross promotion) is increasing. In other words, if you want to have a larger number of promoted students, you need to make bigger and stronger investments; Likewise, if a net promotion is desired (students who are promoted at the exact age of attending a certain degree), the investment will be even greater. Availability of texts.- Regional research shows that there is a positive relationship between availability of texts and academic performance, as shown by Schiefelbein and Simmons (cited in Irahola, 2005) in their analysis of the 33 Latin American researches. Other studies had already shown the positive effects of texts and other materials on learning.

Among the work materials for the classroom, the textbook is more important for student learning than the computer, data display, paper, pencil or whiteboard. In the first place, most of the texts are based on curricular contents in force in the countries, so that they represent a didactic guide for the teacher and ensure the transmission of the basic core common to all students.

Then, the textbook is the material that ensures working time to each of the students, which acquires a fundamental importance when the preparation of teachers is not enough, or when the large number of students per course prevents the teacher attend each student individually.

1.1.2 Educational processes

There are fewer studies that relate the educational process with academic performance; however, the data provided are interesting and open up research perspectives. A state of the art on research in Latin America was aimed at realizing a review of the work carried out in the last ten years that will inform about the modalities of organization and pedagogical management in the classroom and its effect on the quality of the teaching-learning process.

This study hoped to detect information gaps to design future research on unanswered questions. It is hypothesized that the educational process is determined by direct factors and indirect factors. Among the first are the strategies used by the teacher to organize their students and to teach them the curricular contents, such as the distribution of time between the different pedagogical activities, the assignment of tasks and the handling of the discipline. Among the indirect factors are the personal characteristics of the teachers, their work situation, their attitudes and their academic preparation.

The evidence provided by this and other regional studies on the direct factors related to communication strategies used by the teacher to convey their message to students are as follows.

Use of time.- Studies carried out in developing countries show the importance of the time factor in academic performance and show how more time is available for the development of learning activities, the greater the performance. Evidence indicates that the exposure time variable is especially important in the case of the poorest students, who have few opportunities to contact written material in their homes and libraries.

In the work of Arancibia it is commented that in most of the studies in which the variable time is taken into account the effect of it on the performance has not been isolated. It has been studied in what activities the time is invested and how much is allocated to the instructional activities. It is reported from a single study that relates the use of time in different activities during the pedagogical hour, but does not identify which work contributes the most to performance. He It concludes that in general, about 50% is invested in instructional activities and the remaining 50% in activities unrelated to the transmission of curricular contents.

However, if you include the discipline management between instructional activities, it has been found that the teaching time up to 73% and the loss in totally unrelated to teaching activities decreases to 27%. The last two investigations include the disciplinary activities in the pedagogical time because in these the teachers realize that in addition to delivering the curricular contents, they must form "study and research habits, attitudes and a language that constitutes the formation of a base on which can be taught curricular content.

To the extent that students from lower socioeconomic levels do not acquire these "habits" in the family and school environment, it is left to learn in educational institutions of higher education, which consumes significant part time teaching hour. In short, the review of the information available in the region shows that the time variable of exposure to teaching, with unequivocal influence on performance in developed countries, has not been sufficiently investigated in Latin American countries.

Tasks.- Regarding the accomplishment of tasks, it has been found that the students that do tasks or duties outside the educational institution tend to have a better performance in the tests (Schiefelbein and Zeballos, 1993). Other works reviewed mention the tasks, but refer to the way in which the teacher corrects them. An investigation in Mexico showed that the correction of tasks constitutes

an eminently routine activity in the classroom and it is confirmed that it is not related to student performance. From these evidences it is possible to conclude that it is the fact of doing academic work that produces positive effects on performance and that the correction of these by the teacher has no impact on what students actually learn.

Discipline management.- Regional research on disciplinary management is scarce. One study reports having found that the greater use of positive reinforcement is associated with higher performance of the establishment and higher socioeconomic level. On the contrary, the use of negative reinforcement has no significant relationship with performance.

Whether teaching in a classroom can be carried out depends to a large extent on the efficiency with which the discipline is administered and the promptness with which the necessary order and appropriate behaviors are achieved. The ultimate goal of the discipline is to ensure that students are attentive and concentrate on what the teacher is exhibiting or the tasks assigned to them. Disciplinary management is one of the pedagogical strategies for the exclusive use of the teacher, whose modality can be freely defined and appropriate in relation to each situation since it is not part of the curricular descriptions. The aforementioned evidences indicate that the recognition of the student's work by the teacher turns out to be a powerful incentive for the best performance. This finding is interesting from the perspective of the design of improvement policies, since it is an easy resource to train and does not involve any cost.

Questions and answers.- It has been shown that the fact that teachers formulate open questions to their students and that they are clear and explicit in their instructions positively influences academic performance. Negative effects were found regarding teachers' behaviors in which they ignore students' requests and questions. This same study confirmed that this variable has a higher incidence in the performance of students from low socioeconomic sectors than in the media.

1.1.3 Teacher variables.

There are few facts as indisputable as the importance of the teacher in the teaching process and in the results of the educational experience. The management of the knowledge that they must transmit, the ability to identify the times and learning strategies of students, the communication techniques they use, the way they distribute time and the efficiency to discipline, are elements that affect what students learn. Below we explain the relationship between some factors called indirect factors such as the personal characteristics of the teacher, their

training, years of experience, the conditions in which they work and some psychological traits that affect their relationship with students and, indirectly, with the performance of them.

Personal factors: (sex, age, place of origin).- Among the factors related to the characteristics of teachers that are not alterable, it is reported that unlike what was indicated in a previous study, no studies were found to indicate the existence of any significant relationship between socioeconomic level and rural-urban origin of the teacher and other variables within the educational process.

Regarding the sex of the teacher, it is observed that the relationship of this variable with performance is inconclusive. However, studies show that the generic aspect does have an influence on the direct performance of the teacher, since it is women who report the highest absenteeism (for family and domestic reasons) than men.

Something similar happens with age and the years of experience of the teacher, where the relationship between the teacher's age and the student's performance is not clear, as well as the years of experience and student performance. Some studies do find a relationship between years of experience and performance, but this varies according to the type of educational institution. In general terms, greater performance is associated to the group of teachers with ten or more years of experience. A single study relates the place of origin of the teacher with the performance of students and indicates that when the teacher is originally from the community where he works, there is a greater performance.

Initial teacher training.- Regarding teacher training, studies indicate that there is a tendency for better teacher training to be associated with better performing educational institutions. The students of these teachers obtain better academic results.

In the Bolivian case, the initial training of teachers, carried out in the Normal, underwent major changes from the implementation of the Education Reform Law (1994). In the first instance, they changed their name to be called Superior Normal Institutes (INS).

Teacher improvement.- There is evidence of the relationship between improvement and performance. A study carried out in rural areas proves a positive effect of the teacher's training opportunities with the student's performance.

Some postulate that the improvement courses have favorable effects because they generate greater job satisfaction in the teachers. It has been possible to demonstrate a significant relationship between job satisfac-

tion of teachers and student achievement. The regional study of Schiefelbein and Zeballos (1993) shows that in the researches reviewed those variables that are modifiable through direct intervention such as training, years of experience and professional training, are associated with performance.

With regard to improvement, the evidence has shown that it improves the performance of teachers and therefore the performance of students.

Working conditions.- Regarding the working conditions of the professors, it is indicated that the greater rotation of them decreases the performance of the students. Another variable considered was the teacher workday. Irahola (2005) points out that students of full-time teachers obtain better results. A similar finding indicates that a greater number of hours of teacher work in one place correlates positively with performance. In the 1984 study carried out in several countries of the region, it was found that the teacher's contractual relationship with the educational institution seems to be an important factor in the determination of performance, especially in the first years. Similarly, studies show that teacher salary is listed as one of the variables with the highest explanatory power of teacher performance. In general, the higher the salary of the teacher, the better the performance of students.

This study does not report whether there is a relationship between the remunerations received by teachers and their professional training and years of experience. There is still doubt regarding the results found, since it is very possible that the best paid teachers are those who are more qualified and have more experience: the latter conditions and not the amount of remuneration would be the factor of the best performance. Regarding the perception of teachers regarding the educational institution and the educational situation, it was found that even when teachers perceive the relationships with principals as good, this variable does not have a relationship with the student's performance.

Expectations regarding the students.- Among the cognitive and affective characteristics of the teacher, the expectations of the students stand out in relation to their students, where the fact of expecting the students to be successful in their educational experience and to perceive their effort and ability to Learning is positively related to performance. Another study highlights that the effectiveness of the teacher is closely linked to their expectations regarding the achievement of students.

The studies analyzed coincide in indicating that teachers tend to attribute educational failure to environmental conditions or student and hardly ever own educational institution or teachers variables. One study realizes that teachers

'expectations regarding their students' performance is related to external traits of students such as their physical appearance, the color of their eyes, the order and cleanliness of their dress and their behavior in classes.

Teachers tend to attribute the difficulties of teaching work first to adverse work conditions and, second, to student conditions.

The causes of poor performance and repetition are attributed to students' psychological problems (maturity), lack of resources and cultural deficiencies of parents, less learning ability, delay, laziness, indiscipline or family problems. In two studies it is verified that the perceptions, attributions and attitudes of the professor with respect to the student are usually inaccurate, perceiving a higher performance than that evidenced by the grades obtained, or higher performance than the execution in an external national measurement. In general, teachers tend to overvalue the performance of their students when putting notes.

Psychological characteristics.- Regarding the affective dimension, it is noted that with respect to teachers, the awareness of their own aggressiveness and in general the recognition of their own feelings, would generate in students a lesser fear of punishment, less aggression and greater pleasure in educational activities. However, other researchers showed that the affective climate has no relationship with performance. Likewise, some affective variables such as self-esteem, achievement and cognitive motivation such as ability to communicate, fluency, logical reasoning and knowledge of the subject are not related to performance.

1.2 Family and community factor

1.2.1 Family environment

The studies coming from sociology and cultural anthropology insert the family as the vital nucleus of society, because it is in its midst, where the different changes that will give form and cohesion to that social and cultural group take place.

Around the family are the groups that we will know as a social environment: the school; sports, civic and social clubs; the groups of religious nature; the neighborhood committees and others; therefore, a large part of the inhabitants have a clear representation of a family, based on the circumstances that they have lived, for having been born in it or for having formed their own.

On the other hand, it has been established that students who come from households with high incomes get to perform better than those who belong to low-income households. Alcalay (1987) points out that students of low socioec-

onomic status receive less academic encouragement within the home and that they probably lack a quiet place to study and are subject to deprivation of all kinds. Fabra et al. (2003) points out that parents who have low incomes not only have low educational levels, but also lack, for example, support materials or time (because their jobs are less flexible) to get involved in activities with your children.

Often it thought that the family factor is determined exclusively or mainly by the level of household income. In truth, as the studies show, this factor is much more complex than that. It has to do with the "way of life" in which the child / adolescent / young person is born and develops.

Certainly, the socio-economic status of parents is important. But even more decisive seems to be, in the case of students from low-income households, the organization of the family, its affective climate, linguistic socialization and the early acquisition of attitudes and motivations.

The variables of the family environment that affect the learning achievements are, according to Gallardo and Prudencio (2006), the following:

- Occupation, income and educational level of parents
- Physical infrastructure of the home and degree of overcrowding
- Household resources (books, dictionaries, desk, computer)
- Family organization and affective climate of the home
- Social capital of the family, neighborhood, community and peers
- Food and health during the first years of the child's life
- Socialization practices
- Linguistic development and conversations at home
- Daily routines, attitude development and motivation
- Access to, and quality of, preschool and school education
- School choice
- Harmony between cultural codes of family and school
- Learning strategies and previous knowledge acquired
- Family-school communication
- Family involvement in school work
- Use of time at home and during holidays

Heran and Villarroel (1987) identified five processes that link the family and academic performance: the verbal exchange between the mother and the children in the first years of life and schooling; family expectations about academic performance during the school stage; positive relationships between parents and children; the parents' beliefs about their children as well as the attributions they make to their behavior, and the strategies of control and discipline.

1.2.2 Community factor

Researchers use neighborhood, participation and confidence indicators to measure the effect of community on academic performance. These studies show that residency in socially more disorganized neighborhoods, with less involvement in the school / educational institution, less community activities and less confidence in the school and in people in general, can have an important impact on the academic achievement of the students. students.

Even some studies suggest that these community variables may be better predictors of educational performance than educational inputs and socioeconomic variables.

According to the studies carried out, the community variables that affect academic performance are:

- Poverty in the neighborhood
- Unemployment in the neighborhood
- Violence in the neighborhood
- Presence of gangs and drugs in the neighborhood
- Quality of housing
- Participation in organizations (church, neighborhood board, mothers center)
- Participation in voluntary activities
- Involvement in public affairs
- Participation in school organizations (parent center)
- Trust in people
- Trust in school

1.3 Personal factors

Theorizing about self-concept has taken place in the field of phenomenology as the study of direct consciousness. One of the fundamental theses of this theory is that behavior is influenced not only by the past and by present experiences, but also by the personal meanings that each individual attributes to their perception of those experiences.

That private personal world of the individual is the one that most influences his behavior. In this way, behavior is more than a mere function of what happens to us from the outside and is also a consequence of how we believe we are.

Clemes (Quoted by Irahola 2005)) referring to self-esteem as an effective part of self-concept, believes that it is the starting point for the positive development of human relationships, learning, creativity and personal responsibility.

ity. It is the "agglutinant" that links the personality of man and forms a positive, homogeneous and effective structure. It will always be self-esteem that determines to what extent man can use his personal resources and the possibilities with which he was born, whatever the stage of development in which he finds himself.

Speaking metaphorically, we could say that our personality is the vehicle that drives us through life, whose motor would be self-concept (cognitive aspect), its fuel self-esteem (affective aspect), and its particular way of behaving, more or less correctly, the self-efficacy (conative aspect), since as we think (cognition), we feel (affectivity) and we act (conation).

A person "intelligent" and with little self-concept can obtain sufficient but not satisfactory returns, while another "less intelligent" with much self-concept can obtain better results.

Normally the person with little self-concept usually finds few satisfactions in education, quickly loses motivation and interest and, instead, uses a lot of his energy in those aspects that relate to the feelings towards himself (fears, anxieties, problems, relationships with others, etc.).

Very often, experiences capable of reinforcing self-concept are related to the educational institution and, therefore, produce anxiety with which the child continuously struggles. In this way, he enters a vicious circle that he finds it increasingly difficult to leave. Self-concept, regardless of its general importance in educational behavior, marks all manifestations of personality, such as : emotional control, creativity, personal relationships, etc.; being very influential patterns the self-concept of its next referents: parents and teachers, who project themselves to those around them, conditioning them.

Self-confidence is another important predictor for academic performance. Santelices (1991) has shown that both are related. However, self-confidence behaves in a different in the different subjects. For example, according to these authors, academic performance in mathematics is substantially correlated with the student's self-confidence about their abilities for this subject, but not with self-confidence for English, while self-confidence for English is substantially related to performance. academic in this subject, but not in mathematics.

Through different investigations, we have tried to establish the influence of self-esteem on academic performance. The results confirm this association and show that it becomes stronger, more reliable and more stable as the age of the subjects increases.

Among the personal factors, academic performance is also related to the violence or mistreatment that students may suffer. The existing literature indicates different types of abuse that influence academic performance.

- Physical and emotional abuse in the home inflicted by mothers, fathers or guardians on children may reduce the possibilities of approval and the frequency of abuse is associated with the academic performance of the children.
- The "school", physical and emotional abuse that students receive from their teachers can also affect academic performance and be reflected in poor grades and low graduation rates.
- Similarly, peer violence has been defined as 'aggressive behavior directed at harm, repeated over time and occurring within an interpersonal relationship, characterized by an imbalance of power.' Especially in adolescence, violence between partners can generate negative reactions, irritability, panic, repeated episode memory and lack of concentration, physical victimization and psychological subordination are also correlated with feelings of depression, low self-esteem, loneliness and anxiety, failure and school difficulties.

The climate of the classroom or learning environment is the set of organizational properties, both instructive and psychosocial that allow describing classroom life and students' expectations are significantly associated with their learning outcomes, attention and behavior. On the other hand, Bezanilla (2003) states that classes characterized by high levels of student involvement, teacher support, group membership, order and organization and innovation by the teaching staff, are positively associated with more favorable attitudes of students towards the study.

Fletcher (1997) has pointed out that there is a relationship between the academic performance of students and the democratic climate of the classroom, where the teacher exercises the role of guide and motivator of student participation. Deci and Schwartz, cited by Irahola (2005), have indicated that students whose teachers practice a style of autonomy and help are more likely to remain in the educational institution and show greater academic competence, compared to those who practice a style more authoritarian and controlling.

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